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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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OZAL TRIP, POSTURE LAUDED AS 'COURAGEOUS'

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 6 Jul 86 p 2

["In Daylight" column by Ahmet Kabakli: "The Cyprus Campaign"]

[Text] Ozal's Cyprus campaign has proceeded well. A beggardly policy bordering on the "effeminate" for the sake of being peaceloving had begun to afflict us with a "psychological complex" for some time.

We were, moreover, not gaining anything. [Greek Prime Minister Andreas] Papandreu and the Greek Cypriot side kept moving about with with insolence, they kept leveling the worst insults at Turkey, we were stumbling over the Aegean, and Cyprus was proceeding toward the unknown on a slippery road.

This time, they said: "Turgut Ozal should not go to Cyprus." He said: "I will go." Then he asked: "I came; does anyone have any objections?" He thus responded in the harshest terms--though very justifiably--to the mostly and supposedly friendly countries which showed no understanding toward us over Cyprus, which imposed "embargoes" against us and which "considered us rebels while recognizing the Greek Cypriot side as the only legitimate government."

This courageous stance not only reassured the Turkish people, but also restored the strength of the Turkish Cypriot leaders and people to defend their borders which were drawn with the blood of martyrs. Our victory in 1974 was virtually renewed.

Ozal went to Cyprus with his usual calm and docile attitude giving the impression that he was going there simply to discuss economic issues. In our opinion, his major accomplishment was that he made it clear with his words and posture that Turkey and Cyprus constitute an inseparable whole and that Cyprus is an arm and a finger in the sacred body of the "motherland." This arm shall never be cut, because we have the same blood circulating. Everyone must also know that the Turkish regiment in Cyprus has no intention of leaving the island.

Thus the decision of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to close its borders to the UN Force in Cyprus and to "acts of vulgarity" was the result of a rapid rise in morale in Cyprus.

The basic economic rejuvenation concept Ozal took to Cyprus was: Turkish Cypriots must be at least as powerful as the Greek Cypriots in terms of economic development and prosperity, so that if reunification occurs tomorrow they will not be overwhelmed and a state of Greek Cypriot landlords and Turkish Cypriot pariahs will not reemerge.

To that end, the two goals are: tourism and trade. Cement factories and heavy and dusty industries may be set aside. It is evident that Cyprus' gold mine is tourism. Why should this Mediterranean island be treated any differently than Malta or Crete?

Ozal's landing in Cyprus will be seen and presented as an "election investment." The fact that he undressed for the Kirkpinar of the "bye-elections" may in fact give credence to that argument. But the fact that the opening salvos on this issue were first fired by Mr Inonu has created a good opportunity for Ozal; his challenge of "Let the games begin!" was well-timed.

Remarks on the same day by Mr Inonu, Mr Cindoruk and Mr Yazar to the effect that they "support the Prime Minister [on the issue of Cyprus]" constitute an indication that we are on the way up in domestic policy from a standpoint of making the world understand that Turkey has a "national policy" on Cyprus.

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CSO: 3554/140

ASSEMBLY LEADER INTERVIEWED BY TURKISH PAPER

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Jul 86 p 8

[Interview with Assembly Speaker Vassos Lissaridhis by Reha Muhtar; date not given]

[Text] South Cyprus--While Prime Minister Turgut Ozal proceeded with his contacts in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC], Vassos Lissaridhis, the Speaker of the Greek Cypriot Assembly and [President] Spiros Kiprianou's deputy, expressed the views of the Greek Cypriot side to MILLIYET:

Lissaridhis, who is currently the top official in South Cyprus since Greek Cypriot leader Kiprianou is in France, described Ozal's visit as "provocative" and said: "This visit serves to consolidate the division of the island. If the state in northern Cyprus is recognized by certain countries, we will be forced to get closer to Greece for our security. Then double enosis [union] would be realized. The recognition of Denktas' state would lead to double enosis."

Stating that he finds Ozal's statements in Cyprus "very harsh," Lissaridhis said: "He is openly threatening us. He is implying that our fate will be similar to that of Izmir and Dumlupinar. He is telling us not to ever forget that. Our answer to him is that we shall never forget that."

Our questions to Lissaridhis, who is also the leader of the socialist party in South Cyprus, and his answers are as follows:

[Question] How do you view Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's visit to TRNC?

[Answer] It is an unfortunate decision. The state in the north is not recognized by anyone. The situation in Cyprus cannot continue like this. A solution must be found. This is the desire of the man in the street in both sectors. Ozal's visit, on the other hand, is consolidating the division of the island. It is an open provocation. It is a move against the creation of a positive atmosphere. It is a very negative move which is opposed even by Turkey's allies.

[Question] How do you view Ozal's statements after his arrival in Cyprus?

[Answer] His remarks were very harsh. He is talking about shedding blood if necessary. He cites Turkish victories in Izmir and Dumlupinar. By speaking on our island, is he trying to convey us the same message? Is he implying that our fate will be the same as theirs? Are we also going to be thrown out of these lands? This is an open threat. He is telling us not to ever forget that. Our response to him is that, yes, we shall never forget that.

[Question] What developments do you expect in Cyprus in the aftermath of Ozal's visit to TRNC and your rejection of [UN Secretary General Perez] de Cuellar's proposals?

[Answer] I do not think that there will be major changes in the immediate future. What we want to talk about is the withdrawal of Turkish troops, the system of guarantees and the issue of freedoms. I am hoping that Perez de Cuellar will continue his efforts. I expect that these issues will be discussed. Turkey's ultimate goal is to dominate all of Cyprus. The problem in Cyprus is Turkish expansionism. This can be seen from public remarks made by Turkish officials. Only international pressure and the Turkish people can stop Turkey's dream of dominating all of Cyprus.

[Question] Is not every passing day working against you since your rejection of Perez de Cuellar's latest proposals?

[Answer] Yes, every minute that passes is to our disadvantage. We must find a solution as soon as possible. However, we must discuss the three issues that are essential for a solution. The details have no meaning without these issues. That would be like discussing the color of the hallway before you decide what building you will be living in.

[Question] The Greek Cypriot press has published a number reports attributed to UN circles claiming that Turkey is preparing to invade South Cyprus. Do you think that is true?

[Answer] I think that at present the conditions are not suitable for Turkey to do that. I have not received any such information. Consequently, I do not think such views are credible. But if you are asking about Turkey's ultimate goal, then, yes, that is Turkey's ultimate goal.

[Question] It is anticipated that certain countries will recognize TRNC in the near future. What would your stance be in the face of such a development? What developments do you expect?

[Answer] What would its recognition mean? Is that what Turkey wants? Such a development would force us to rely more heavily on Greece. Then double enosis would be realized. Efforts for recognition are steps taken toward double enosis. Would that be in Turkey's interests?

[Question] Do you think that Ozal's visit to TRNC constitutes a step toward double enosis?

[Answer] Let us say for the moment that it is a step toward the permanent division of the island.

[Question] Lastly, I would like to talk to you about a general impression in Turkey and I would like to hear your views on that. The impression is that several terrorist groups which have attacked Turkish targets are based and trained in South Cyprus. What do you think on this issue?

[Answer] I know definitely that such a situation does not exist. This side of Cyprus is open to everyone. There is no area which is off limits to anyone. Anyone who wishes may travel around and see. That charge is definitely not true.

Protests Continue

Meanwhile, all political parties and professional organizations in Cyprus are continuing their protests against the Prime Minister's visit. Two days ago, a group of demonstrators organized by political parties marched once again to the Green Line and shouted slogans. The demonstrators, carrying placards demanding Ozal's departure from the island, tried to cross the Green Line, but they were not permitted to do so. In addition, several professional unions held protest rallies yesterday. Following doctors and hospital nurses, attorneys marched to the Green Line yesterday. Officials stated that the demonstrations will continue until the minute Ozal leaves northern Cyprus.

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PREPARATIONS FOR 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DISCUSSED

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 11 Jul 86 p 2

[Commentary by Hakan Hagwall: "Nordic Perspective: Dexterity in Finland"]

[Text] In mid-June, the Finnish Center Party nominated its leader, Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, as its candidate in the 1988 presidential election. This may look early, but it is consistent with the Center Party's habits. (For a quarter of a century, the party could announce its candidate in the next presidential election any time it wished; it was always Urho Kekkonen.)

Ever since the great Kekkonen had to retire to old age and isolation, his name has lost its mystical weight in Finnish politics with surprising rapidity. The references and the comparisons, "How would Kekkonen have acted?", "Kekkonen would never have said it that way," "Kekkonen would have stepped in at this point," etc. soon stopped.

But the Kekkonen tradition is being cultivated in the Center Party. The decades immediately following the war were days of glory for the Center Party, which at that time was called the Agrarian Party. The party leader is now consciously trying to link up to that time as the party of the president and the major party in government. In this connection, Kekkonen's name is being used extensively.

Vayrynen is to be fielded as a new Kekkonen. Now that he is a candidate, the situation arises in which the foreign minister is the president's challenger. So was Kekkonen in his time, people answer. But Vayrynen is just so young, only 41 years old. Yes, but in 1988 he will have more ministerial experience than Kekkonen ever had, comes the reply.

And ever so cautiously, we are led to understand that Vayrynen is the real administrator of the foreign policy legacy. In connection with his nomination as a candidate for the presidency, Vayrynen spoke about his connection in foreign policy with the Kekkonen line, which caused some raised eyebrows. The usual phrase is the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, but now clearly the impression is to be created that the Center Party has some sort of extra edge in the copyright on the foreign policy line which every single politician in Finland pays homage to.

It has also been intimated that there really are fine shades of meaning in foreign policy. Vayrynen and the Center Party are supposed to stand for more traditional, Kekkonen-esque, neutral neutrality, while Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa and the Social Democrats are supposed to be attracted towards a more active, Palme-esque, moralizing neutrality.

This has naturally irritated many Social Democrats. They are even disturbed by the fact that the Center has nominated a presidential candidate. The Social Democrats themselves expect Mauno Koivisto to run for reelection, but Koivisto would rather not comment on the matter until the spring 1987 parliamentary election is over.

The Social Democrats will not be patient that long. Vayrynen cannot hold himself aloof. In the fall, Koivisto will be formally courted and asked to be a candidate another time. Then the party can hope to benefit from the Koivisto effect, i.e. presidential coattails in the parliamentary election. No one in Finland doubts that the president has already made up his mind and given his unofficial consent to members of his party.

Finland's moderates, the National Coalition Party, have also recognized the need to act in the so-called presidential game. Once again they are turning to the Bank of Finland and exhuming their former leader Harri Holkeri. He has been a presidential candidate before, on two previous occasions, in fact, but in recent years he has not engaged in any political activity at all.

This then is the way the three biggest parties have lined up, but while the first two big parties have moved with some reluctance and in an ad hoc manner, it is in the third of the parties, the Center Party, that the devotion to purpose and the activities are all the greater. Vayrynen is in high gear. One part of these actions has been his much noticed contribution to the issue of shaping and running the government.

Vayrynen has spoken about new government configurations. The present so-called red earth coalition, in which the Social Democrats and the Center predominate, is to be replaced by a government based on the "three parties that do well in the election." By this the Social Democrats, Center, and National Coalition Party are meant. Vayrynen has given this coalition the odd name of "popular front," a label which would otherwise be applied to cooperation between Communists and other Socialists and is consequently esteemed the most in Communist circles.

Vayrynen's popular front is an overture to the right which the Social Democrats do not accept. If Vayrynen carries his reasoning through to the parliamentary election, then negotiations about putting a government together are inevitable. And then various solutions may come to the fore.

This is precisely what Vayrynen wants. He can try his hand at an enlarged coalition or at a fully nonsocialist government. In both alternatives, one of the tactical niceties is that he will be the prime minister.

It is likely that Finland's nonsocialist majority is at least not opposed to getting a government not led by a Social Democrat, so in that respect Vayrynen can expect to meet with understanding. His problem is that no one fails to see what the real driving force behind the move is. Everyone sees that the presidential election is what it is all about.

By being the leading nonsocialist politician, this to be shown through the office of prime minister, among other things, Vayrynen will emerge as a unified nonsocialist alternative to Koivisto in 1988. If he does not succeed then, which is not that plausible, his next chance will come 6 years later. Kekkonen lost in 1950 but won in 1956, Center Party members recall.

The question is how appealing nonsocialists not of their generation will find the very obvious maneuver.

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CSO: 3650/276

DI.ANA'S STEFANOPOULOS' POLITICAL FUTURE DISCUSSED

Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 30 Jul 86 p 11

[Text] These days several questions are raised about the Democratic Renewal's [DI.ANA] prospects and particularly about those of its leader Stefanopoulos who recently developed a "dynamic presence" with two very good presentations in the Chamber of Deputies and some successful press conferences.

Of course, Stefanopoulos' main problem is his inability to detach himself cleanly and persuasively from ND and give his party the modern and renewing accent many of the ND disappointed followers were expecting. The fact that DI.ANA has become the refuge of every displeased ND cadre has diminished its original dynamic idealism.

At the same time, this fact has led its most capable parliamentary cadres, whose enthusiasm is steadily decreasing, to voluntarily maintain a distance from the party. Thus, DI.ANA cadres are often heard saying: "We did not leave ND to join a small ND..."

At the same time, DI.ANA is harmed by the hysterical and unsophisticated anti-Mitsotakis actions of its members (for example, the statements by its parliamentary spokesman Vrettakos) who, in reality present DI.ANA as a party whose ideological banner represents...aversion towards Mitsotakis.

Many of these problems appear to be slowly recognized by Stefanopoulos who, in any case, lacks a staff. Thus, he has recently attempted to enunciate an overall party position completely different from that of ND and PASOK, even though at times this differentiation (especially in the form of a position "in between" the two large parties) "is forced" and unconvincing about its sincerity and independence.

One should add the fact that the "intellectuals" of his party are possessed with an absolute ideological confusion between a foggy social democracy and a moralistic "new Right." Thus, what is now left to DI.ANA is morals, dignity and responsible opposition to the government.

But while DI.ANA as a front appears almost non-existent, Stefanopoulos' prestige--as international observers also say--increases. Thus, those who

see ahead and predict rapid developments in the liberal area after the next national elections believe it is possible for Stefanopoulos to play an important and leading role. The great advantage for the DI.ANA leader is that at this moment his prestige remains intact. It is the image of an honest, honorable politician which is expected to become more and more of an important qualification in the next few years.

In this sense--and under conditions, of course--the leap of Stefanopoulos into the vacuum is possibly fruitful in the long run. In a fluid and evolving political scenario, who would not be willing to be allied with an uncorrupted politician or even follow him to new parties and prospects? Of course there are many "ifs" and "maybes" in these reflections...

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CSO: 3521/235

INTERPLAY SEEN BETWEEN PASOK, KKE PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 30 Jul 86 p 4

[Text] The peace activities of the Movement for National Independence, International Peace and Disarmament [KEADEA] aim at a KKE-PASOK "bridge", at a time, moreover, when the relations between these two parties are strained.

A leading PASOK cadre told us that the "peace front" is the main area where PASOK can maintain its pro-Sovietism and please the Kremlin, thus ensuring some pressure from "socialism's mother" on KKE so the latter may show "restraint" toward PASOK.

Thus, while KKE-PASOK relations are cool, KEADEA, under Markopoulos (whose sympathies lie with the Moscow-controlled World Peace Council), maintains wonderful relations with the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace [EEDYE] and often "plays its cards," according to KEADEA cadres who are displeased with Markopoulos' policy.

It is within this framework that KEADEA issued an announcement against KIPEA--the liberal peace movement for Afghanistan(!)--which, according to a KEADEA cadre, was suggested by EEDYE which thus remained in the background (since its work was being done by KEADEA!). For the same reason Markopoulos (who carefully coordinates his movements with EEDYE Chairman Alis Argyriadis) made sure that KEADEA remained absolutely silent about the Chernobyl events by using non-convincing arguments (which he repeated a few days later in OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS).

Naturally, Papandreou is familiar with this situation as well as with the dissatisfaction of many KEADEA members and the satirical comments about Markopoulos who "cannot have even normal relations with EEDYE which has derided him." However, Papandreou wants this KEADEA-KKE bridge (through EEDYE).

He also wants the "USSR to be content" (via KEADEA) at least at the level of slogans for peace. In this context the expensive festival KEADEA is preparing for December is expected to again be pro-Soviet and anti-West, thus satisfying the Kremlin and KKE, especially since, at Markopoulos' insistence, the participation of reactionary East European pacifists was barred.

In any event, according to a KEADEA cadre, "the Markopoulos days are numbered" from the moment "the expediency of his remaining in his present position will have been terminated."

LABOR MINISTER PROCLAIMS COMMUNIST, PRO-PASOK BELIEFS

Athens ENA in Greek 31 Jul 86 pp 31-34

[Interview by A. Delis with Labor Minister Evangelos Giannopoulos: "I Was and I will Remain a Communist"]

[Excerpts] The labor minister says it and believes it: "I am a communist." He speaks grumblingly and grudgingly against KKE which "brings harm" with its policy on the "amateurs of syndicalism" in the communist Left who "know only how to go on strike." He fiercely defends the government's policy even though he says he is "vertically opposed" to elimination of the Cost of Living Adjustment [ATA]. He is particularly optimistic about the government's appeal among the people and is ready to "duel" with one and all about his arguments. Yet, he admits that "much work is needed to put theory into practice" and "the task for the visions to become reality is great." He has defended Pole and Serifis and many anarchists and he considers Arkoudeas "an excellent and kind man."

"Since early in life I have been a communist in the true meaning of the term and I'll remain a communist at the side of the people," says (strangely) and stressing each word the (irreplaceable) Labor Minister Vangelis Giannopoulos, a veteran communist, a fervent patriot and a fighter in the National Resistance.

He is the only government official who vociferously criticizes the communists. Not because they make his life difficult almost daily, but because he truly doubts the course the new syndicalists of the communist Left follow and whom he considers amateurs. He says about them: "What do they know about struggles? The only thing they know is how to go on strike...and to shout insults against PASOK. They behave as if we were an enemy front..."

[Question] How did you become a communist?

[Answer] Ever since I was a small boy I could see injustice everywhere--at school, in society, even in the church, and I was against injustice...When I came to Athens I read Marxist books, RIZOSPASTIS, the theory of Marxism and I could see that there was a solution to the problem. What was the

solution? To have the people's sovereignty triumph; the people and even the dictatorship of the proletariat to govern; the poor, the weak, the suffering, the hungry people, those who work so that others can eat and be dressed well. That was the way we were struggling side by side. But I was never a member of the communist party.

[Question] Yet, you came to power and now you are chastizing the communists.

[Answer] Yes, because I remain a communist in the true scientific meaning of the term.

[Question] How have you remained a communist?

[Answer] I remain one and I fight for its visions and messages which were also messages of the National Liberation Front and the National People's Liberation Army. And we have implemented as many of these messages as we could. The economy cannot withstand anymore. Of course we made impressive increases [in salaries and wages] but we did not do it progressively so the economy too could adjust. And I don't like it when you say that I became an anti-communist.

[Question] But the communists themselves say that from a communist, Giannopoulos has become a champion of the capitalists' interests...

[Answer] They are wrong. We did what we could. We put into effect the 15-day period, the 40-hour work week. We decreased the years for insurance and we have provided insurance for all people--we have done so much...We brought about equality of the sexes in all respects at places of employment, in promotions, in positions.

[Question] Well, doesn't KKE see what you say you have done?

[Answer] It sees, but it has a poor conception. KKE thinks that by attacking and slandering PASOK--there are cases when it knows the truth but still attacks the government--it can elevate its standing in the people's conscience and correspondingly decrease that of PASOK. KKE is of the opinion that we received the votes because presumably we told the Greek people lies. They are the ones who for many years did not tell the truth. And what is the result? He who knows the psychology of the communist, of the struggler, the psychology of the tormented people, knows how PASOK and KKE will make out.

[Question] What does KKE gain by attacking PASOK?

[Answer] To render PASOK weak and thus derive benefits. By protesting against PASOK, KKE is trying to convince the people that the government does not follow a good policy. It believes it can thus attract the people to it. But we are leftists...

[Question] Sure?

[Answer] What do you mean "sure"? We are leftists. Are we not? What are we?

[Question] Only that you have changed direction.

[Answer] Change of direction in what?

[Question] Let us say in foreign policy. Many can detect the water in your wine.

[Answer] Is there any prouder and more dignified foreign policy than the one our premier proclaimed right after his October 1981 victory during that historic interview he gave to an American TV network, an interview which impressed the world tremendously because of the courage with which the premier stated this policy? A multi-dimensional policy. At the meeting of the "Group of the 6" premiers and state leaders, Papandreou proved to be always a champion for peace. He always speaks against nuclear weapons and assumes the initiative for peace in the world and for detente...

[Question] But it is said about the American bases...

[Answer] We said we shall kick out the bases. These things can't be done in one day. We have problems...

[Question] What problems?

[Answer] Only just now has Europe become aware of Turkey's threats against us. Only now Europe is becoming aware of the military occupation of Cyprus. Who spoke about these cases until now? The premier came out publicly and denounced [Turkey] once, twice...five times. He spoke again in Hague and we hear the pleasant message that Europe is now conscious of the fact that indeed problems exist with Turkey and that Turkey is responsible for them.

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CSO: 3521/235

EDITORIAL QUESTIONS DEMOCRACY'S FUNCTIONING UNDER PASOK

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 27-28 Jul 86 p 9

[Text] Papandreou's vacation in Elounda may not have helped him in discovering more ingenious procedures for his march toward "socialism" with less economic and social harm; but it revitalized his disposition for "black humor"--the humor which quite often fed PASOK's sloganeering with typical maxims: "The bases (remain), the struggle is now justified." A humor which a careful observer of our political scene may justifiably argue, representing the most...serious side of PASOK's ideology!

"No one threatens nor can he threaten anymore the function of democracy in our country," said the premier 2 days ago in his message on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the restoration of democracy.

Papandreou is greatly mistaken if he believes the regime which evolved since he assumed power is democratic. And he makes an even greater mistake if he believes no one can threaten this regime. It is threatened by democracy! A true democracy. A democracy which has absolutely nothing to do with the pseudo-declarations about the democratic legality of the "socialist transformation;" a democracy where no one knows what would happen if it were not included among the possibilities of an honest--and misguided--people for fighting the self-interested and incompetent leaders.

By any chance does Papandreou want us to remind him, on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the fall of the junta and restoration of democracy, why the past 5 years have not confirmed such restoration? Let us do so.

Is it democracy when one promises certain things as a major opposition and does other, completely different things when he assumes power?

Is it democracy when one abolishes the state machinery and transforms it into a PASOK party organization?

Is it democracy when one refuses to appoint to any position in the public sector persons who do not belong to PASOK or to some "progressive parties" which "cooperate" with it?

Is it democracy when one elects the president of the Republic by altering the regular procedures, by policing the deputies, by dealings behind the backs of the Greeks for securing the necessary parliamentary majority?

Is it democracy when one continuously fires from higher positions in the state media (TV and radio) anyone who does not absolutely conform with the premier's orders on subjects concerning the partisan content of the broadcasts?

Is it democracy when one excludes the major opposition from these communication media and information whose effectiveness cannot be counterbalanced by any other means?

Is it democracy when one relentlessly reduces the consumptive ability of the working people in order for the party/state to save the money it needs for extending the government?

Is it democracy when one reaches a renowned decision concerning the leasing of houses and stores on the basis of the principle (could this also be a PASOK principle?) that income from capital must be greater than income "from work?"

Is it democracy when one selectively increases the compensation of government officials when the readjustment of salaries and wages is forbidden under penalty of imprisonment?

Is it democracy when one virtually abolishes the rights of syndicalists and confiscates the property of strikers?

Is it democracy when one imposes taxes on people without a law? For instance, under what law was the change made in the percentage price of liquid fuels and coffee, a change which represented an exchange loss in tax income following the devaluation of these products?

Is the enraging Papandreoucracy a democracy?

If the answer to all the above questions is "yes", then indeed, no one threatens democracy in our country. How can you threaten something which does not exist?

7520
CSO: 3521/221

OVERVIEW OF NEWSPAPERS' CIRCULATION, TENDENCIES

Athens ANDI in Greek 1 Aug 86 pp 15-19

/Article by N.I. Kyriazidis/

/Excerpt/ A publication's circulation and the advertisements it gets are usually the two basic criteria of its strength and viability.

For that reason we will endeavor to present the prevailing situation and the developments that have occurred from 1984 to the present in these two areas.

We must, however, make certain observations beforehand:

-Unfortunately, data exists only for Athens newspapers and periodicals. No such data exists for Salonica or the provinces.

-As indicative data of this year's trends we had to use the April figures since these were the latest to be had.

It is not to be ruled out that by the end of the year many things will have changed although it is doubtful that such changes will entail radical rearrangements in existing publications. Unless, of course, new publications come out that would upset current data or unless older publications cease publishing or finally unless some publications revolution were to occur.

At any rate, whenever there are distorted data in April or new developments (for example, the maintenance or not of "Bingo" games by certain publications, publication of television program guides, etc.) we will attempt to point these out.

The data on which the survey is based is derived primarily from the publication "Dimosiotita" /Advertisement/ by Andreas Rizopoulos and from my own research.

One more observation before we get started: it is presumed that the sale of publications and advertising are the only two sources of their income. This, however, in many cases is not correct. And, unfortunately, with regard to these other "invisible revenues" only a few indications exist but no proof!

Newspapers Overall

Daily Newspapers

Despite the fact that 1985 was an election year, as shown in Table 1, there were no substantial changes in the overall Greece circulation of Athens newspapers that has remained set for about 3 years at 1,045,000-1,986,000 issues a day. In an unusual manner, in an election year we had a very small drop in circulation in Athens itself (minus 4,000 issues) but a big rise in the provinces (41,000).

This year daily newspapers once again fluctuate about at the same levels as 1984 and the circulation ratio in Athens and the provinces remains at about 6/4.

At this point we should emphasize that we still are one of the countries in Europe having the smallest circulation of newspapers (per 1,000 inhabitants), as revealed in the following figures:

1. Great Britain	421	5. France	191
2. West Germany	408	6. Greece	102
3. Ireland	229	7. Italy	82
4. Belgium	224	8. Spain	79

The circulation and the percentage of morning newspapers is as follows:
/original text garbled/

1984	196,249	(16.1 percent)
1985	163,980	(15.1 percent)
1986	134,546	(12.8 percent)

This year, in fact, the shrinkage appears to be severe following the shutdown of TO VIMA and AKROPOLIS' drop, and despite the publication of DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS.

Sunday Newspapers

For 1984 (Table 2), there are unfortunately no figures giving circulation of Sunday editions of daily newspapers.

Especially interesting is the fact that Sunday newspapers (either the sixth issue of morning newspapers or the seventh issue of afternoon newspapers or purely Sunday publications) have overall circulation (1,017,000) that competes with daily newspapers (1,047,000).

The Sunday editions of the morning newspapers that had a monopoly on Sunday, before KYRIAKATIKI ELEVTHEROTYPIA began publication, now cover only 27 percent of the overall circulation.

The difference in circulation of Sunday newspapers in Athens and the provinces is very small (530,000 compared to 487,000 issues).

Advertising

In our data on business advertisements we do not include small announcements, social news, company business statements, etc. that in some cases (TA NEA, I KATHIMERINI, etc.) constitute a very big source of income.

What is of interest is the clear trend in its distribution (Table 3). We can thus make the following statement:

First of all, business ads are increasing year by year at about the same rate as the average price increase due to inflation. In 1984, overall advertising expenditures, according to Metrix and Nielsen statistical measurements, came to 12,860,000 drachmas and 15,314,000 drachmas in 1985.

Secondly, the distribution of advertising was as follows:

- Television --unlike other countries of the world -- gets a percentage over 50 percent and this percentage is constantly growing (from 49.7 percent in 1984 to 53.8 percent in April 1986).
- Periodicals also are constantly increasing their percentage rate (from 23.1 percent to 26.5 percent).
- Newspapers, on the other hand, are losing the advertising battle (from 20.5 percent to 13.7 percent).
- Radio also is losing out but not at a great rate (from 6.7 percent to 6 percent).

Daily Newspapers

Tables 4, 5 and 6 provide figures on circulation of newspapers throughout Greece, Athens, Piraeus and the provinces. Table 7 gives us the distribution of advertising in certain newspapers.

The number one newspaper, with quite a big difference (about 70,000 issues in April) still appears to be ETHNOS whose circulation last April was 193,700 issues.

At any rate, we must point out here that during that month it continued publishing the "Bingo" game and that as soon as it stopped doing so a tough fight began with TA NEA for the number one spot in Athens that is being won by TA NEA.

However, the differences between ETHNOS and TA NEA in the provinces in April was and continues to be so great (some 52,000 issues) that it is being ruled out that it has lost first place on a panhellenic scale.

Without the "Bingo" game ETHNOS had previously fallen to 175,000 issues, a big drop for a newspaper that had reached a circulation rate of 210,000 issues. Generally speaking, ETHNOS is confronting a drop in its circulation.

In fact, the number one newspaper circulation-wise, namely ETHNOS, also has the biggest percentage of advertising (14.7 percent in 1985 and 11.3 percent in April 1986).

TA NEA: With its conversion into a tabloid it succeeded in putting an end to its continued drop but not in increasing its circulation (123,200). However, its relative position has improved somewhat thanks to ETHNOS' drop.

TA NEA still is a newspaper dependent on small announcements as is shown by its relatively large circulation in Athens (88,000) and its frightfully small circulation in the provinces (33,000).

A small downslide in its circulation continues.

Together with the number one spot in circulation TA NEA has also lost the number one place in advertising where its share is continually shrinking. Here, of course, we must point out that this newspaper holds on to first place in small announcements and it must have very significant income from this source.

AVRIANI: Last year, in an election year, this newspaper succeeded in moving up from fifth to second place by coming out with an average circulation of 149,500 issues! This, year, however, despite the fact that it sells for 20 drachmas, it has fallen to third place with 110,000 issues.

APOGEVMATINI, with 65,300 issues throughout Greece, has surpassed AVRIANI in Athens (59,600 issues) and it is doubtful if its position would be so good in the provinces (58,500 issues and coming in second place) if it were not so cheap. AVRIANI's trend also appears to be on the downside.

ELEVTHEROTYPIA: One of the few newspapers which has been consistently on the upside circulation-wise for the period we are examining. With the simultaneous drop in APOGEVMATINI's circulation it appears to have gotten fourth place with overall circulation of 109,000 issues (58,700 in Athens and 50,300 in the provinces).

ELEVTHEROTYPIA also shows an increase in the percentage it gets from business ads (6.5 percent from 4.3 percent).

APOGEVMATINI: This newspaper appears to be in a constantly downward trend. From 126,000 issues and holding third place countrywide in 1984, in April 1986 its circulation was only 103,300 issues and it held fifth place.

Its share in business ads remains great (10.4 percent) and it is the only newspaper, besides TA NEA, that has a large number of small announcements.

Nevertheless, its position at this time is being threatened so long as it continues losing circulation at the same rate.

ELEVTHEROS TYPOS: One more newspaper, together with ELEVTHEROTYPIA, that has been showing a constant rise in circulation and, indeed, at a very accelerated rate. It occupies sixth place and from 49,500 issues in 1984 it moved up to 96,700 in April 1986, i.e. almost doubling its circulation.

This newspaper's rise in the provinces is impressive, With 53,800 issues circulation it occupies third place.

If it continues moving up at the same rate it is not to be ruled out that it might become the biggest newspaper in Greece.

I VRADYNI: This traditional newspaper of the Right has been showing a small but continuous drop in circulation both in Athens and in the provinces. From 76,000 issues circulation it had in 1984 it dropped to 66,800 in April 1986.

RIZOSPASTIS: This newspaper sells for 30 drachmas during the week and 40 drachmas on Sunday. A significant portion of its income comes from the KKE party apparatus whose official organ it is.

It holds first place in morning newspapers and, indeed, with quite a difference. In relation to 1984 it shows a significant rise (51,400 with 59,500 issues). However, in relation to 1985 it shows some stagnation.

PROTI: It first came out in April and got about 50,000 issues circulation the first month (29,000 in Athens and 21,000 in the provinces). It now has stabilized at 40,000 or so --circulation figures that do not guarantee survival but constitute a basis for continuing its efforts.

TO VIMA: This daily newspaper no longer exists. It was republished in 1984 and after a year or so it closed down again in 1985. During that period it showed a constant downward trend. Its last circulation figures for all of Greece was around 27,000 and this thanks mainly to the large circulation of KYRIAKATIKO VIMA.

Its republication was one of the biggest journalistic fiascos ever and cost its publishers quite a lot of money.

MESIMVRINI: Between 1984 and 1985 it showed a big increase in circulation (from 29,000 to 42,100 issues) but in 1986 it once again showed a drop (37,600 issues).

I KATHIMERINI: This newspaper shows some relative stability (24,000-26,000) and with the shutdown of TO VIMA and vertical drop in AKROPOLIS' circulation it has gotten second place for morning newspapers.

AKROPOLIS: The drop in circulation of this newspaper has been vertical. In 2-1/2 years it has lost almost half of its readers (from 45,200 to 23,400).

DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS: A morning newspaper. It first started publishing in March and in April it just reached a circulation of 19,700 issues. It must now be even lower.

As for the remaining newspapers, we will say that I AVGI (7,100) is showing a slight drop. ESTIA is about stable (7,150). The juntist ELEVTHERI ORA is going to hell having dropped from 5,800 to 1,400 issues.

Advertising

As we have already said, the percentage of business ads that newspapers get is constantly dropping. As Table 7 shows, five newspapers get 43-46 percent of overall advertising in the daily press with first place being held by ETHNOS (11.3 percent), second place by TA NEA (10.6 percent), third place by APOGEVMATINI (10.4 percent), fourth place by ELEVTHEROTYPIA (6.1 percent) and fifth place by THESSALONIKI (4.5 percent).

Sunday Newspapers

So-called Sunday newspapers can be divided into two categories:

First of all, the Sunday edition of morning newspapers, this being the sixth and regular issue of the five daily newspapers --AKROPOLIS, I AVGI, I KATHIMERINI, RIZOSPASTIS and DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS. These newspapers cover about 27 percent of the overall circulation of Sunday issues.

Secondly, a group that is made up of the seventh issue of afternoon newspapers, namely KYRIAKATI KI APOGEVMATINI, KYRIAKATI KI AVRIANI, KYRIAKATI KI ELEVTHEROTYPIA, etc. Also, some purely weekly issuances such as KYRIAKATI KI VIMA and EXORMISI. Finally, someplace here we should include RIZOSPASTIS TIS DEVTERAS that in essence is RIZOSPASTIS' seventh issue. It is a most significant fact that the Sunday issues of the afternoon newspapers have a much smaller circulation than the daily newspapers.

As we said at the outset, unfortunately there are no separate data on the circulation of Sunday issues of morning newspapers for 1984.

ETHNOS TIS KYRIAKIS: As in the case of the daily ETHNOS, it was the biggest newspaper in its field as of April 1986 with 157,900 issues circulation.

However, unlike the daily ETHNOS its first place is seriously being challenged by the latest developments. First of all because it has stopped the "Bingo" game something that dropped its circulation significantly. Secondly because TA NEA TIS KYRIAKIS ceased publication while KYRIAKATI KI VIMA got a significant portion of its readers. Thirdly because the difference with the KYRIAKATI KI VIMA was not so great in April (50,000 issues) as, for example, the difference of the daily ETHNOS with TA NEA (70,000 issues). Perhaps, of course, ETHNOS may not lose first place but VIMA will come very close to it.

RIZOSPASTIS: It has its biggest circulation on Sunday: 122,800 issues. It comes out in second place overall and in the provinces and third place in Athens.

The difference in circulation of the Sunday issues from that of the five other issues of RIZOSPASTIS that come out on weekdays is enormous. For example, in Athens it sells about 25,000 issues a day during the week but on Sunday this figure goes up to 63,000! The intervention of the party apparatus as a means for disseminating the newspaper is more than evident. And yet it is showing some stagnation in its circulation.

TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS: This is what remains of the old historic TO VIMA. In April, it showed significant trends upward that were generally helped by the disappearance of KYRIAKATI KI NEA. It must have caught up with and surpassed RIZOSPASTIS and thus must have gained second place instead of third place it had in April. Its weakness is the provinces where it held fifth place.

AVRIANI TIS KYRIAKIS: It shows the same up and down curve as the daily AVRIANI. From second place in 1985 it is now in fourth place (107,100 issues) but still higher than in 1984. It is in third place in the provinces.

ELEVTherOTYPIA TIS KYRIAKIS: It shows a continuous but slight downward trend and is usually under 100,000 issues (95,900 in April 1986) and holds fifth place. In the provinces it holds fourth place (49,974), above VIMA (48,058). The latest statistics, however, show that it is tending upward.

APOGEVMATINI TIS KYRIAKIS also is dropping, just as the daily APOGEVMATINI but it holds sixth place with 75,000 issues.

TA NEA TIS KYRIAKIS: It closed down on 4 May because it was constantly losing circulation (from 91,850 issues in 1985 when it first came out it dropped to 71,900 when it ceased publication).

AKROPOLIS that used to be the big Sunday newspaper is continually dropping just as its daily issue and is now just at 65,000 issues and holds eighth place.

I KATHIMERINI TIS KYRIAKIS holds ninth place (54,800) and slightly surpasses **I VRADYNI TIS KYRIAKIS** (54,052) that shows downward trends, less, however, than its daily issue.

Finally, there is a group of Sunday newspapers with low circulation and downward trends. Among these newspapers are the two party publications (**I AVGI --KKE (Int.)--** with 13,800 issues and **EXORMISI --PASOK--** with 10,400 issues) and two juntaist newspapers (**ELEVTheri ORA**, 2,700 issues, that is dropping vertically, as well as **ELLINIKOS KOSMOS**, 8,700 issues, that appears to have obtained the circulation of the former).

TABLE 1
OVERALL CIRCULATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Key:

1. April
2. Overall Greece
3. Athens-Piraeus
4. Provinces

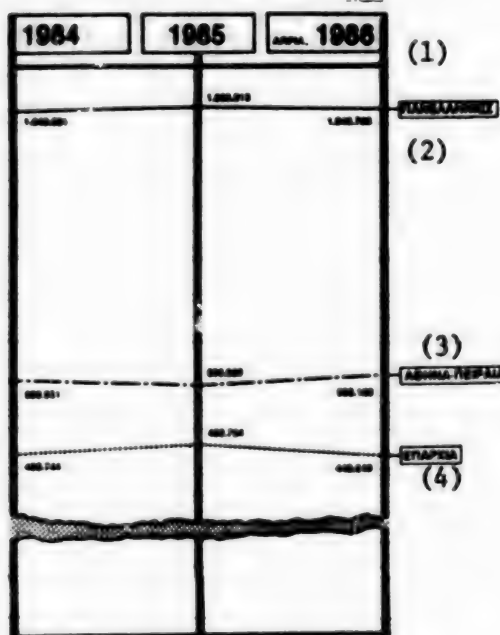


TABLE 2
SUNDAY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION

Key:

1. April
2. Sunday weeklies
3. Sunday edition of morning newspapers
4. Total

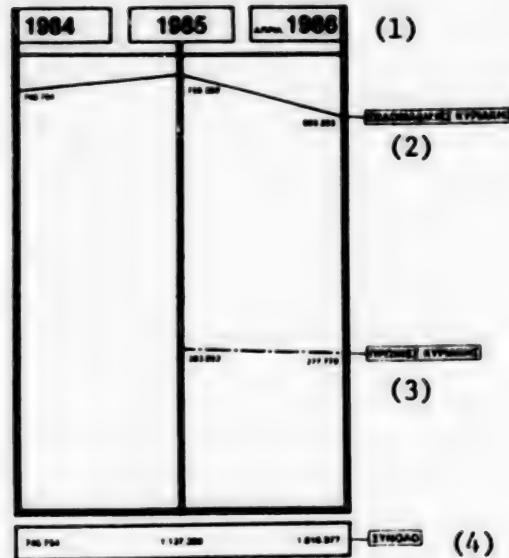


TABLE 3
AVERAGE ADVERTISING PERCENTAGE

Key:

1. April
2. Television
3. Periodicals
4. Newspapers
5. Radio
6. million
7. million
8. Overall ad expenditures

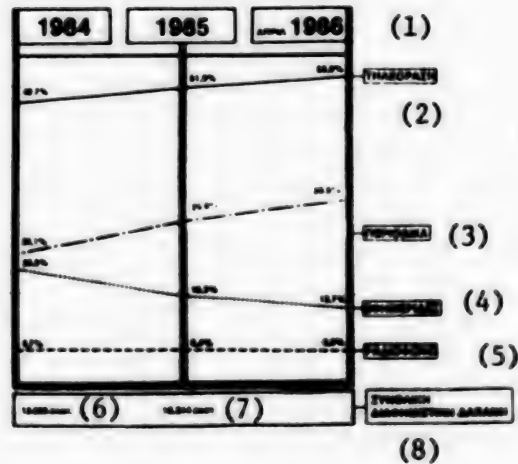


TABLE 4

OVERALL CIRCULATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS
3. TA NEA
4. AVRIANI
5. ELEVETHEROTYPIA
6. APOGEVMATINI
7. ELEVTHEROS TYPOS
8. I VRADYNI
9. RIZOSPASTIS
10. PROTI
11. MESIMVRINI
12. VIMA
13. I KATHIMERINI
14. AKROPOLIS
15. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS
16. I ESTIA
17. I AVGI
18. ELEVTHERI ORA

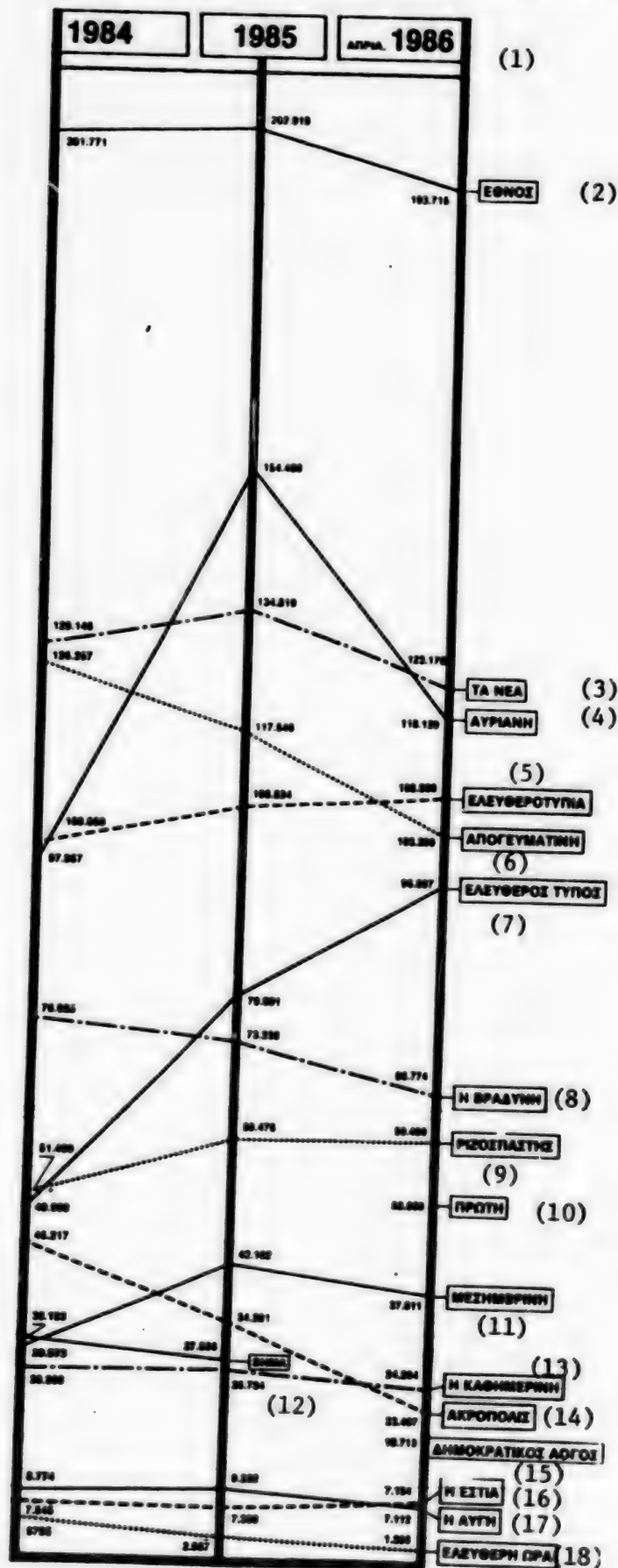
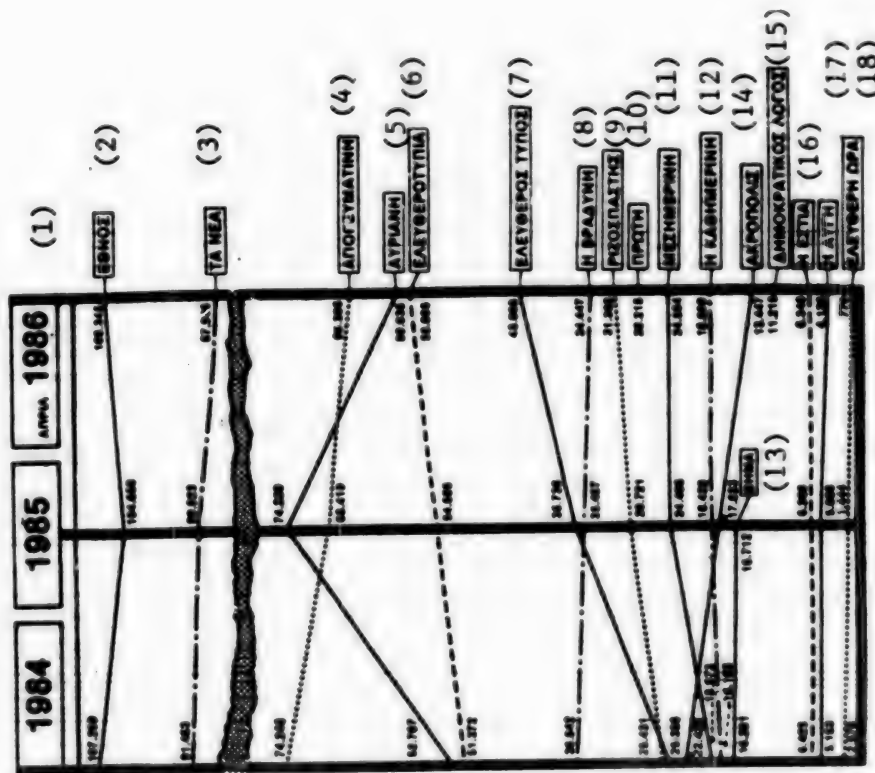


TABLE 5

CIRCULATION IN ATHENS-PIRAEUS

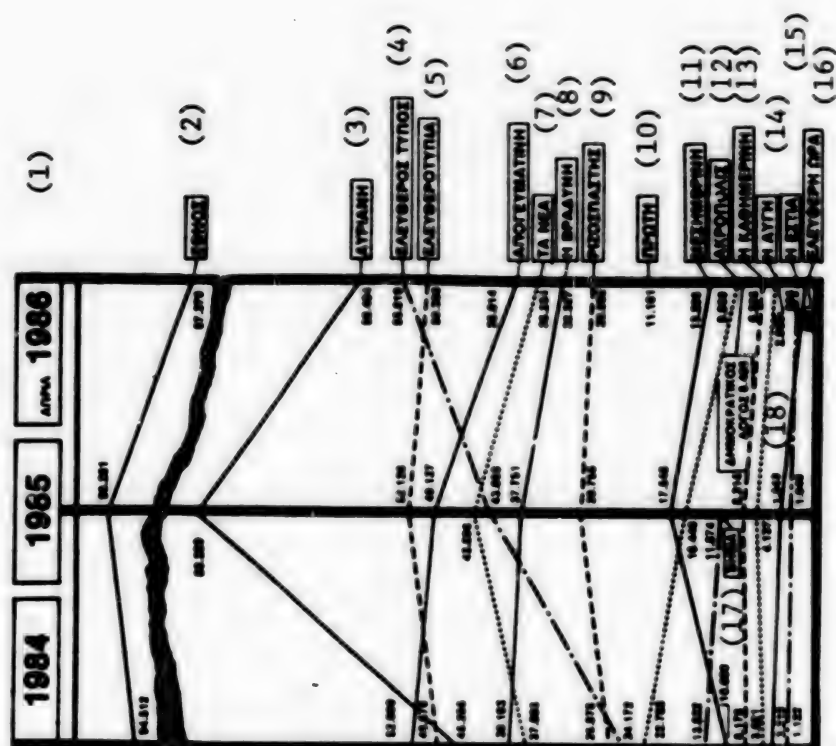


Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS
3. TA NEA
4. APOGEVMATINI
5. AVRIANI
6. ELEVTHEROTYPIA
7. ELEVTHEROS TYPOS
8. I VRADYNI
9. RIZOSPASTIS
10. PROTI
11. MESIMVRINI
12. I KATHIMERINI
13. VIMA
14. AKROPOLIS
15. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS
16. I ESTIA
17. I AVGI
18. ELEVTHERI ORA

TABLE 6

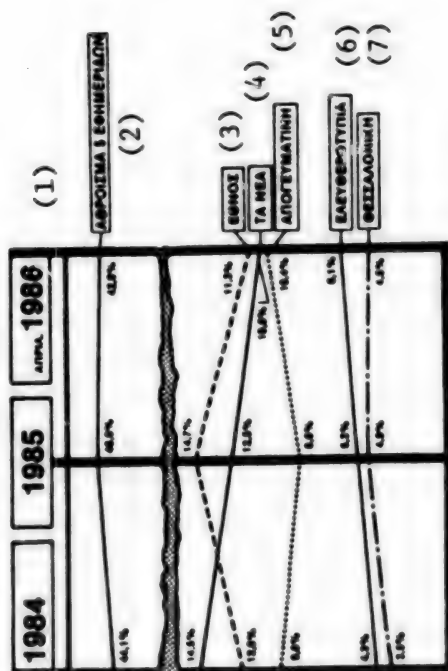
CIRCULATION IN THE PROVINCES



Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS
3. AVRIANI
4. ELEVTHEROS TYPOS
5. ELEVTHEROTYPIA
6. APOGEVMATINI
7. TA NEA
8. I VRADYNI
9. RIZOSPASTIS
10. PROTI
11. MESIMVRINI
12. AKROPOLIS
13. I KATHIMERINI
14. I AVGI
15. I ESTIA
16. ELEVTHERI ORA
17. VIMA
18. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS

TABLE 7

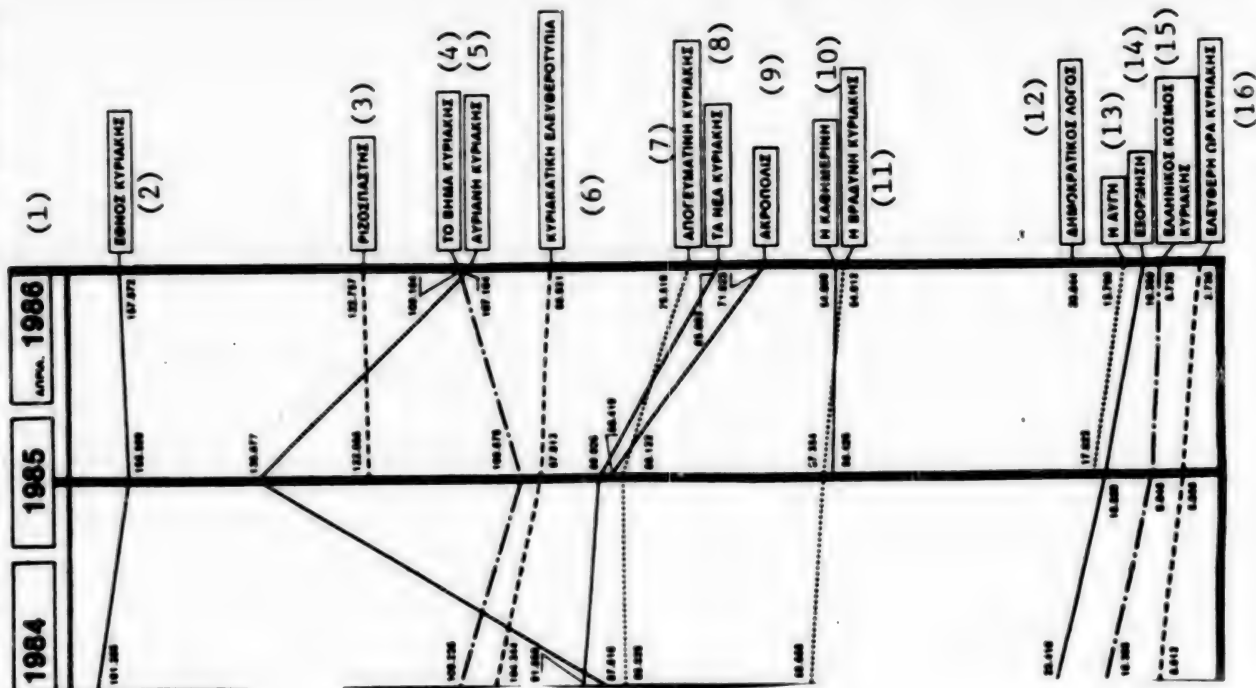
PERCENTAGE OF ADS IN FIVE
NEWSPAPERS

Key:

1. April
2. Total for five newspapers
3. ETHNOS
4. TA NEA
5. APOGEVMATINI
6. ELEUTHEROTYPIA
7. THESSALONIKI

TABLE 8

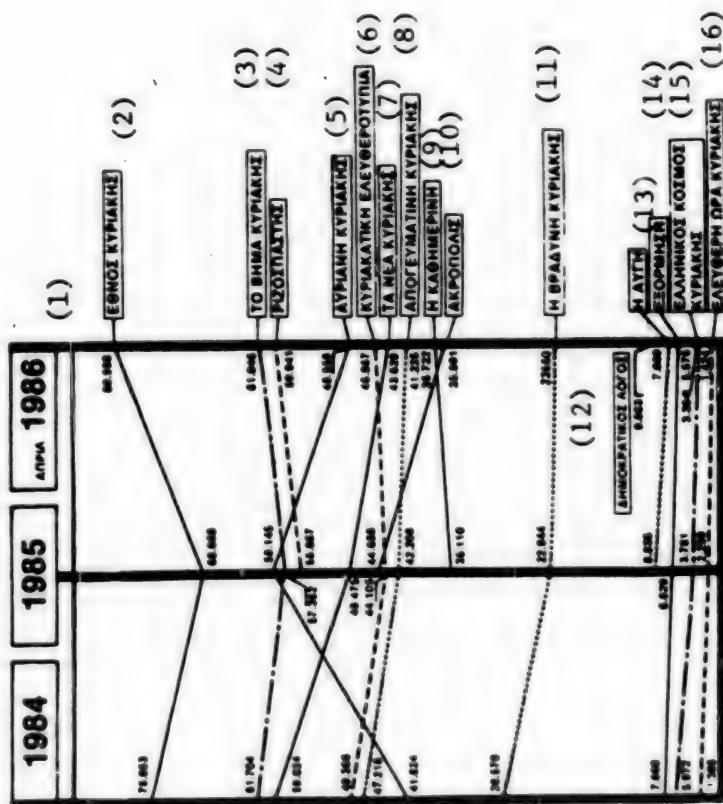
OVERALL CIRCULATION OF SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS



Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS KYRIAKIS
3. RIZOSPASTIS
4. TO VIMA KYRIAKIS
5. AVRIANI KYRIAKIS
6. KYRIAKATIKI
7. ELEVETHEROTYPIA
8. APOGEVMATINI KYRIAKIS
9. TA NEA KYRIAKIS
10. AKROPOLIS
11. I KATHIMERINI
12. I VRADYNI KYRIAKIS
13. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS
14. I AVGI
15. EXORMISI
16. ELLINIKOS KOSMOS

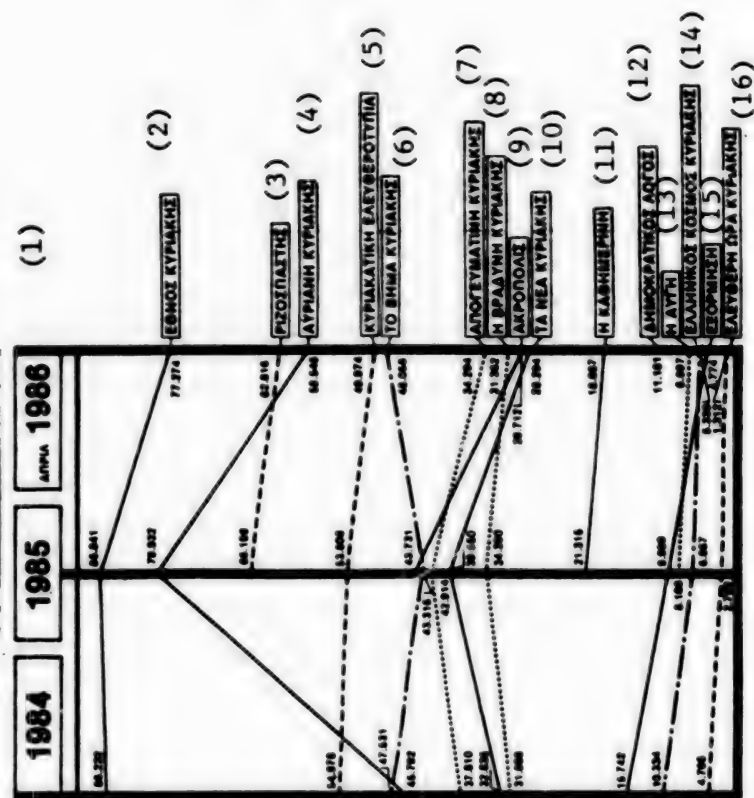
TABLE 9

SUNDAY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION IN
ATHENS-PIRAEUS

Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS KYRIAKIS
3. TO VIMA KYRIAKIS
4. RIZOSPASTIS
5. AVRIANI KYRIAKIS
6. KYRIAKATIKI ELEVTHERTOTYPIA
7. TA NEA KYRIAKIS
8. APOGEVMATINI KYRIAKIS
9. I KATHIMERINI
10. AKROPOLIS
11. I VRADYNI KYRIAKIS
12. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS
13. I AVGI
14. EXORMISI
15. ELLINIKOS KOSMOS
16. ELEVTHERI ORA

TABLE 10

SUNDAY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION IN
THE PROVINCES

Key:

1. April
2. ETHNOS KYRIAKIS
3. RIZOSPASTIS
4. AVRIANI KYRIAKIS
5. KYRIAKATIKI ELEVTHERTOTYPIA
6. TO VIMA KYRIAKIS
7. APOGEVMATINI KYRIAKIS
8. I VRADYNI KYRIAKIS
9. AKROPOLIS
10. TA NEA KYRIAKIS
11. I KATHIMERINI
12. DIMOKRATIKOS LOGOS
13. I AVGI
14. ELLINIKOS KOSMOS
15. EXORMISI
16. ELEVTHERI ORA

STEINGRIMUR HERMANSSON WEIGHS ENDING COALITION AFTER ELECTION

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Johan Myrsten: "Praise and Blame For Iceland's Government; Troublesome Financial Failure But Inflation Beaten"]

[Text] Reykjavik—A financial failure which has the whiff of scandal and victory in the fight against inflation are two prominent features as Iceland's nonsocialist government enters its last year in office.

After a period in office which has been characterized by economic drama and sharp declines in real wages, Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson's nonsocialist coalition will meet voters in new parliamentary elections as early as next April.

May's municipal elections were a setback for both the prime minister's Progressive Party, which has hits greatest strength in rural areas, and Finance Minister Pálsson's conservative Independence Party, which has been Iceland's largest party for so many decades.

Social Democratic Party Won Votes

Among the opposition, the Social Democrats were the leading vote getters who after their big loss in the 1983 parliamentary election got a new head for their party, the young and dynamic Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson.

However the decline of the two parties in the government was limited to a few percentage points each. The prime minister views the result of the election as somewhat of a fall forward when it is compared to earlier opinion polls.

Steingrímur Hermannsson is still contemplating a pullout from the coalition after the next election, while at the same time the left-socialist People's Alliance is weighing closer cooperation with either the Social Democrats or the Independence Party.

"I think both parties will go into the election uncommitted. The Progressive Party has been a part of the government for so long that many say it is time to take a little rest from the responsibility of governing. We shall see after the election," Steingrímur Hermannsson told SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

Social Pact

As they go into the election, one of the many things the government parties will do will be to point out how they aggressively cleaned up the economy and this year contributed to a social pact which can stand as a turning point in the fight against Iceland's galloping inflation. In an unusual February agreement between the Federation of Trade Unions, employers and government, inflation will be brought down from 40-50 percent to under 10 percent by year's end through a combination of lower salary increases, tax reductions, and other things.

The agreement has been criticized for not compensating employees for the big declines in real wages in 1983-84. But in Gallup surveys, 70 percent say they support the pact.

Hafskip Scandal

But a genuinely dark shadow is being cast over Iceland's establishment by the big Hafskip scandal, which has given impetus to those who talk of increasing corruption in Iceland—the country whose police cars bear the motto "the land must be settled through the rule of law."

According to the prime minister, last December's bankruptcy of the Hafskip shipping company, a company which had been growing rapidly, is the country's biggest failure ever. The state is in danger of losing upwards of 100 million Swedish kronor—this in a nation of 240,000 inhabitants. The state-owned Fisheries Bank (Utvegsbanki) can scarcely survive on its own unless, as is likely, it merges with the Agricultural Bank (Bunadarbanki) which is state-owned as well.

Industry Minister Albert Gudmundsson of the Independence Party and now Gudmundur Gudmundsson as well, the head of the People's Alliance's bloc in Parliament, are taking part in the investigation of the failure.

Still Unexplained

The story of how Iceland's second-largest shipping company collapsed so quickly is still not fully explained. For several years Hafskip paid for a major expansion with big loans from the Fisheries Bank. High inflation quickly wiped out these debts while the value of the vessels remained the same or increased. During those years the chairman of the board of both the shipping company and the bank was Albert Gudmundsson who by then was finance minister.

The colorful Albert Gudmundsson has made a career out of being both a goal-hungry professional soccer player on major European teams and a businessman back home in Iceland. But to the outside world with little knowledge, he is perhaps best known as "the man with the dog." When he was finance minister he did actually refuse to get rid of his dog, this despite a ban on dogs which was in effect in Reykjavik at that time—and this earned him many inches of print.

Directors Arrested

So far no one knows whether Albert Gudmundsson did anything illegal during this affair. However, some time between the end of May and the first part of June, some of Hafskip's directors were brought in for questioning.

One factor which triggered Hafskip's bankruptcy was when a poor freight market led to a decline in the price of ships. The value of the shipping company's fleet rapidly fell by half and debts exceeded resources. Another factor was the United States' 1984 decision to shift transports to the Keflavik base to American ships, which was a blow to both Hafskip and Iceland's largest shipping company, Eimskip.

The Hafskip tangle was further complicated a few weeks ago when it was revealed that 3 years ago Gudmundur Gudmundsson of the Federation of Trade Unions received a sum which was the equivalent of slightly under 20,000 Swedish kronor from his friend Albert Gudmundsson as a contribution for health care in Florida. It is said that this money came from Hafskip, something the People's Alliance's parliamentary leader claims he did not know about.

While this part of the story is being completely investigated as well, colleagues within the People's Alliance are now criticizing their parliamentary leader for not having resigned. Quite a few Icelanders are also critical of the fact that Albert Gudmundsson is still sitting in the government.

"The Hafskip issue is a very, very serious story, not all of which has emerged," Prime Minister Hermansson commented.

"Albert Gudmundsson is not under suspicion at the moment and I hope he is never accused of anything unlawful in this case. But for many years he did involve the chairman of the board in the management of Hafskip. But everything is in the hands of the courts."

NATO Not a Controversial Issue

The eternal controversial issue of the American base at Keflavik, however, is now less prominent in Icelandic debate. An opinion poll recently showed that roughly 80 percent supported continued NATO membership, while 67 percent said that the base should remain as long as Iceland is in NATO.

"I am one of those who say that now when the super powers try to confer with one another, we here in Iceland are not about to rock the boat by changing the shape of things. But I personally would like to see the time when we no longer need a foreign power here in Iceland, and there are many people who agree," Steingrímur Hermansson said.

"We don't see as much of the Americans as we used to, and nowadays the buildings on the base are being run by Icelanders," he added.

Party Strength

May's municipal elections provided the most recent picture of the position of the Icelandic parties in the eyes of the voters.

The conservative Independence Party, Sjálftæðisflokkurinn, received just under 43 percent of the votes cast, a drop of 2.5 percent.

The agrarian Progressive Party, Framsóknarflokkurinn, received a little over 13 percent (down 3 percent).

The Social Democratic Party, Althjodaflokkurinn, got 16 percent (up 5 percent).

The Left Socialists and the Communists' People's Alliance, Althjodabandalag, received slightly more than 19 percent (up 2 percent).

The Women's Alliance, which first ran in the 1983 election, received 4 percent (down 2 percent). But the women's party did not run in all towns.

The Socialist Alliance, Bandalag Jafnadmanna, a group which split off from the Social Democratic Party in 1983, did not run in this year's municipal elections.

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LABOR PARTY YOUTH ORGANIZATION MOVES TO END NATO OPPOSITION

Willoch Sees Undermining Attempt

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] "The Labor Party Youth Organization's (AUF) new NATO policy is far from harmless, although it is much less unrealistic than the earlier one, whose aim was quite simply Norwegian withdrawal from the alliance," said former Prime Minister Kare Willoch in a commentary to AFTENPOSTEN. Willoch felt there are clear indications that AUF now intends to revive Einar Forde's idea of "NATO infighting."

"So far, it has been impossible to get any appreciable support for AUF's position among the public in general. For that matter, this is what Deputy Party Chairman Einar Forde concluded a long time ago. He has not given up his basic anti-NATO position, but he does not bring it up either because it is not part of the agenda," Willoch pointed out.

Instead of withdrawal, the AUF chairman is now promoting membership in NATO for the time being and "a relaxation-of-tension and arms-reduction process in Europe, to which Norway's withdrawal from NATO could be an important contribution."

The AUF chairman said in a newspaper interview that we need to act tougher within the alliance.

Opposition

"This part of the new line also greatly reminds us of Einar Forde's talk about "NATO infighting," said Willoch.

"In my opinion, this means that the NATO opposition would use its membership in the alliance in such a way as to undermine it and weaken its chances of protecting West-European security. But it becomes rather difficult to clearly state what is happening when the NATO opposition supports membership for the time being in order to

pursue a policy to undermine the meaning of membership instead of clearly supporting withdrawal from the alliance as soon as possible," said Willoch.

Infighting

Kare Willoch stressed that when Norway eventually engages in "NATO infighting," opposing Western ideas and negotiating positions, it will be even more natural for the Soviet Union to try to widen the cracks in NATO rather than go along with Western points of view supported by the other member nations.

Footnotes

"The new government's surprising use of "footnote politics" in NATO must also be evaluated in this light," Willoch pointed out. "It is important to expose tendencies indicating that Einar Forde and AUF's basic viewpoints are gaining ground within the Labor Party. The party as a whole would be more cautious about allowing this to happen if all attempts to do so were thoroughly exposed by others.

"But a clear Norwegian NATO policy under the present government will only be possible if Gro Harlem Brundtland and Knut Frydenlund stop putting party unanimity ahead of unanimity within the alliance," said Kare Willoch.

Chairman Explains Changed Position

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Carsten Carlsen]

[Text] For the first time since 1969, the Labor Party Youth Organization (AUF) is prepared to support continued Norwegian membership in NATO if the AUF Program Committee has its way, at any rate. The program draft, which will be submitted for adoption at next year's national congress, contains a statement to the effect that arms reduction and relaxation of tension in Europe would not be advanced by our withdrawal from NATO.

"Partly it is we who have changed our position, and partly the situation has changed," AUF leader Jens Stoltenberg told AFTENPOSTEN.

"If we were to withdraw from NATO now, it would create uncertainty, which in itself would hinder relaxation of tension and arms reduction. Furthermore, we disclaim any possible influence. Another factor is that there is now greater European independence within NATO," said Stoltenberg, who did not rule out future

Norwegian withdrawal from NATO as a necessary step in dismantling the European blocks.

"Since you acknowledge the need to wield influence within NATO and view European NATO countries as being more independent, does this mean that you want greater European involvement in Norwegian politics?"

"Yes, we would like to have stronger ties with the EC Foreign Policy Cooperation, EPS, and have representation on the embassy level vis-a-vis the EC, but we do not support membership."

"Is this program change a concession on the part of AUF to strengthen its position relative to the internal security-policy conflict within the Labor Party?"

"No, this is an objective, not a tactical decision on our part. But it might help bring about security-policy agreement and possibly strengthen our position within the party," Stoltenberg concluded.

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FORMER CONSERVATIVES' CHAIRMAN ON POST-PALME POLITICAL SCENE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Gunnar Heckscher: "Gunnar Heckscher On Swedish Politics After Murder of Olof Palme: Strength and Conviction Now Needed From Opposition"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Among other things, Gunnar Heckscher has been a professor of political science and ambassador to India and Japan as well as the chairman of the Conservative Party from 1961 to 1965. Previous contributors to this column have been: Leif Lewin, 22 June; Gunnar Strang, 24 June; Carl-Johan Westholm, 27 June; Carl-Henrik Hermansson, 30 June; Janerik Larsson, 1 July; and Sven Fagerberg, 6 July.

Political murder--happily--is counterproductive in a society like Sweden's. The reason for this is our loathing of violent deeds in politics. This is a healthy sign, regardless of the violence which exists and is tolerated by ordinary citizens on streets, in market places, and in their homes. But the consequences can be surprising.

If Thorbjorn Falldin had been murdered in 1977, today we would not have any nuclear power plants in Sweden. If Gosta Bohman had been murdered in 1981, Ulf Adelsohn would have become prime minister the following year.

Interest Does Not Lie

Parenthetically, this points up the falsity of the Marxists' slogan "interest does not lie." Would anyone really want to apply this to the preposterous conclusion that Olof Palme might have been murdered by one of his own party's members?

Because it is obvious that the Social Democratic Party benefits from what has happened, and, strangely enough, in two conflicting ways. Loathing a repulsive deed creates sympathy for those who were politically close to the murder victim. At the same time, the victim's successors have had an opportunity to free themselves from many obstacles and in the long or short term neutralize the acrimony which had come to mark Swedish politics as far back as 1968.

Without having changed substantially, the Social Democratic Party appears even more controversial, more in agreement with "the Swedish model." And this indeed is what the Swedish people want.

Had the Advantage

The work of the opposition is made correspondingly more difficult. This is true of the Moderate Coalition Party in particular, which for so long had the advantage of standing out as the main opponent of the Social Democratic Party and particularly of Olof Palme's politics. This advantage has now been reversed.

Signs of despondency in certain Moderate Coalition circles could be observed as early as the period directly following the 1985 election. The reason for this presumably lay primarily in the fact that earlier the party had been arrogant. There were those who had claimed a nonsocialist electoral victory in advance and devoted most of their effort to amateurish talk about forming the next government. Such habits bring their own punishment. And it does not look more promising today.

September 1988 is still more than 2 years off, and much will happen before then. The opposition can make things difficult, especially in the short term. But its mission is not unfeasible provided there is sufficient imagination, energy, and perseverance.

Experience ought to have taught us two things. The first is that the majority of nonsocialist voters are precisely that; they are Moderate Coalition, Liberal or Center Party voters second. The second is that things go wrong for those whose politics look tough and businesslike.

Many voters find it difficult to understand why the three democratic opposition parties cannot get together or at least follow a common line. In today's circumstances, this ought to be easier than it was during the years from 1976 to 1982, inasmuch as the Liberal Party, under Bengt Westerberg's leadership, has taken a clear position in favor of free market economic solutions and can no longer be thought to be furtively eyeing the chance to cooperate on its own with the Social Democrats.

Compared with the need for a common intelligible opposition policy, competing by trying to emerge with one's own special image appears less important. Perhaps it is quite meaningless: "those who have already been saved" are usually the ones who take the greatest pleasure in having their own special image.

The differences of opinion about issues among the nonsocialist parties are scarcely bigger than the differences of opinion within the Social Democratic Party. For this reason, out of many points of view it becomes desirable for them ever so gradually to agree to make compromises beforehand and go into the election with a common program. Then none of them, either the biggest or the smallest, can claim that their wishes alone are to be approved by the others.

Avoiding Controversy

For the time being, nothing indicates that such joint action has come about and in the absence of or waiting for same, the three parties remain with three party programs. They therefore have not only the right but also the clear duty to account clearly for their efforts and submit them to the public's scrutiny. Such an accounting on programs is fully consistent with seeking cooperation.

Questions from opponents and the mass media regarding what is or is not negotiable will, when it is appropriate, be parried with Gunnar Hedlund's old saying: You don't sell the skin before the bear is shot. However, there really is every reason to avoid open controversy amongst them for as long as possible, assuming of course that restraint is mutual.

Commitment to issues is undoubtedly the most important thing. And points of view on issues must be presented in such a way that they can be accepted not only by specialists but by ordinary people as well. "A politician's first duty is to be reelected, because otherwise he ceases being a politician."

No Business Enterprise

A political program is not a sweet canned pudding to be sold by deadly advertising. Voters who are convinced are more reliable than those who are merely persuaded to vote for the party. And a political party is no business enterprise, but must possess human warmth and compassion for those who are in need.

A bit of modesty does no harm either. Otherwise it is easy for people to think that "the politicians"--the word has become an insult--are working for themselves and not on behalf of the public.

Now is the time for all three of the parties--at least the Liberal Party--to present their policies better than they have. They have had an ambition, which in and of itself is laudable, to explain the ideological bases of practical politics and to demonstrate a capacity for basic economic discussion. But this has led them, among other things, to conduct the debate on their opponents' terms. Consequently it has become easier for the latter to term the opposition's proposals "beneficial to the rich"--though in fact the main reason for these proposals may be the masses' point of view.

No Improvement

Social Democrats are constantly talking about "fairness." This, for them, would appear to mean that no one will have it better than everyone else. In contrast to this, those who are less interested appear to want everybody to have it better. This way no improvement is achieved, in any event in a way that is good for a majority of people.

It is against this background that the nonsocialist opposition parties are calling for various things. Some of these calls are formulated in different ways. For my discussion, the most convenient point of departure will be the statements of the Moderate Coalition Party.

One demand is that school should provide sound knowledge and that universities and technical schools should maintain high quality. This is especially important for students from families without academic traditions. Other students can receive at home those basics of knowledge which a "poor" school does not provide them with, just as it is easier for them to study on their own. Poor schooling is largely responsible for the fact that lopsided recruitment for advanced studies did not stop when financial obstacles were lessened.

The state's monopoly of the educational system aggravates the situation. Those who think that the local elementary or senior high school is poor can send their children to a private school which gets no state or city aid—if they have plenty of money. Others can only pocket their anger.

Profoundly Disloyal

The so-called loyal wage policy, which stakes so much on "low wages," is not just disdainful of training and craftsmanship. In fact, it is also profoundly disloyal.

It is in the nature of things that unemployment will result if labor is paid the same, regardless of whether the firm is doing well or poorly and if all salary differences are to be evened out, even between teenaged and experienced employees. This was the thinking from the start. Unprofitable firms should be eliminated and their manpower transferred into areas of profitable production. Once there was a manpower shortage. Now instead there is a shortage of job openings, but the same method is being used. No one is asking unemployed teenagers if they would like to take a job where the salary is lower now but which offers good opportunities for the future.

Unsuccessful Dagmar

"Dagmar" has not seen any particular improvement in medical services in her sparsely populated area. Things have just gotten worse in other ways. People with low incomes have to line up at the public health service and wait a long time for cataract or hip injury operations. On the other hand, if a man has plenty of money, he can pay for treatments out of his own pocket without the aid of health insurance or, in the most extreme instance he can go abroad.

The present system of so-called child care means that the parent who does not want to entrust his children to city-run day care forfeits the social advantage of its being subsidized. In theory this is the same method being applied in China to those parents who have more children than what is considered desirable.

People with good incomes can do as they please, others are expected to do as they are told. In fact, it does not always turn out that way. Even people with low incomes still occasionally choose to look after their own children. So people go their own ways at the price of financial sacrifices—here in our own country the same way as they do in China.

Who Ends Up Suffering

In Sweden, the only completely acceptable way to get incomes above the average has been to play the lottery. This answers the call for "fairness" inasmuch as no skill or amount of work is required. There is also betting on soccer games and horse races. Similar to this is the opportunity to shift funds (possibly loan money) between various capital investments. This requires skill but seldom any large amounts of work.

But the person who wants to make things better for himself by skill and assiduous work immediately encounters disapproval and in every case significant obstacles. Who ends up suffering with a policy like this?

Not those who earn high salaries. The person whose annual income is one million kronor and has two million in capital, after paying between 75 and 80 percent of income in taxes, still keeps from 17,000 to 20,000 kronor per month. No hardship there. The person who has an annual income of 300,000 kronor and 600,000 in capital gets along nicely on the 10,000 to 11,000 kronor per month that remain after 55-60 percent on the average goes for direct taxes. The true effects of the tax burden show up in other groups.

Net After Taxes

Andersson and Bengtsson are skilled laborers or civil servants with social security on their regular jobs. They are near the 50 percent marginal rate of taxation (not the average tax)--or perhaps higher.

Mr and Mrs Andersson have a cottage but are not very good with their hands. Mr and Mrs Bengtsson are handy but devote most of their time to their car. The Anderssons ask the Bengtssons to put a roof on their vacation house. The answer is yes, but they want 5,000 kronor, net after taxes, for their effort.

For the Bengtssons to get their 5,000 kronor, the Anderssons must pay them 10,000 kronor--5,000 go for taxes. Furthermore they have to pay at least 3,700 in employer contribution, for a total of 13,700. In order to be able to pay 13,700, they have to earn 27,400, and their employers have to pay an additional 37,500--so the Bengtssons can get their 5,000.

Two Alternatives

This naturally does not happen. The Anderssons have two alternatives. They can put the roof on themselves. The job is badly done and it rains in. Or they can pay the Bengtssons 5,000 under the table, without any employer contribution or any report to the tax authorities. This costs them 10,000 in deductible income, since it is taxable money. But 10,000 is less than 27,400. What do you think the Anderssons will choose?

Similar reasoning can be brought to bear on questions of security policy and defense. The opinion in the armed services is that a situation will be created which will never need to be put to use--in which anyone contemplating an attack on Sweden will find that it costs more than it is worth. If the armed forces have enough forces to carry out this purpose, then peace is preserved.

Bombs On Workers

But in the first instance, who suffers if the forces are too weak to repel the assault? Not "a minority of the rich." They have a good chance at least of getting their families to safety if Sweden is drawn into war and we have not adequately invested in defense. Certain big motorboats can cross the North Sea and perhaps the Atlantic, and there exist private airplanes too.

No, if there is war, the bombs will fall on ordinary workers, on their work places and on their homes. For their sakes we need to have a defense which is strong enough to deter potential attackers from disturbing Sweden's peace.

The basis of our criticism of Social Democratic policy is to be found in this type of reasoning—and it can be applied to many other points as well. If Moderates, Centrists, and Liberals can convey this criticism with sufficient force and conviction, they can achieve success. Ability is decisive.

Swedish voters are as intelligent as Swedish politicians, and they are not ignorant either. It is all right to convince them, but not if one is sloppy about one's arguments.

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BILDT, POLITICIANS, NEWSPAPER COMMENT ON CHAIRMANSHIP NAMING

Bildt Explains Political Philosophy

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Aug 86 p 7

[Article by Gun Falth: "Carl Bildt Nominated as New Conservative Leader"]

[Text] Carl Bildt will be the new chairman of the Conservative Party. At the same time Ingegerd Troedsson will become second vice chairman, a post vacated by Ella Tengbom-Velander.

Lars Tobisson will continue to serve as vice chairman. The party's election committee made this announcement yesterday.

"I did not choose the time or the job, but I feel ready," Carl Bildt stated at the hastily summoned press conference at the party's Stockholm office yesterday.

The new party officers appeared in full force, beaming at the assembled reporters and issuing repeated assurances in turn.

Very Pleased

"We are very pleased that the election committee reached a unanimous decision."

This means the party will avoid an open confrontation between Bildt's and Troedsson's supporters at the upcoming party meeting.

That could have led to a party split that would have taken the new party leader a long time to patch up.

"By accepting the post as second vice chairman, Ingegerd created a basis for agreement on the part of the election committee," said the chairman of the election committee, Lars Ahlmark.

The reason given for selecting Carl Bildt is that in spite of his age--37--he has a long history of experience in political work and he is well versed in defense, economic and international issues.

"When he worked for the government during the reign of the nonsocialist coalition he acquired good insight into domestic policy and he has since served on the Defense Committee for a long time. Thus he represents a valuable continuity," Ahlmark went on.

Ingegerd Troedsson was selected because she is one of the party's leading municipal politicians and because she is very familiar with several of the issues the party considers vital: family, tax and church policies.

"She is also a good debater with a talent for educating people," Ahlmark continued.

Considerate

Thus Ingegerd Troedsson will succeed Ella Tengbom-Velander as second vice chairman, a post that was scheduled to become vacant at the regular party meeting next year. But she offered to step down ahead of time at the extra meeting so that the presiding officers could immediately start working together in the period leading up to the 1988 election.

A tanned Carl Bildt beamed from the podium and stressed the unity of the presiding officers.

Great Strength

"It is a great strength to have Ingegerd and Lars, who are now adding their competence and experience to the top leadership, by my side," he said.

Carl Bildt defined himself as a liberal and a conservative and quoted his own words:

"I am a liberal lover of freedom with a conservative sense of responsibility."

He had been a little doubtful about accepting the offer, he said.

"It is an exposed position that involves a lot of stress. There is no doubt that one has to carry a heavy burden. But I am prepared to do that. The job is so challenging and exciting that it is worth it."

"I am very glad that I myself met the requirements to run for party leadership. And I am glad that the election committee unanimously recommended that Lars Tobisson stay on and that Carl Bildt was tested against so many candidates. It is a strength for the party," said Ingegerd Troedsson, who smiled throughout the press conference.

No Discord

Both she and Carl Bildt flatly denied that there was any discord between them as a result of the critical selection. Carl Bildt stressed that at no time during the debate that preceded the election committee's recommendation had there been any features that he considered unpleasant.

Ingegerd Troedsson said that she had stayed away from both the newspapers and the radio in the past week and that other causes for rejoicing, such as the strength and breadth of Conservative policy, outweighed the fact that SVENSKA DAGBLADET had waged a vigorous campaign to get Carl Bildt named as party chairman.

Neither one would say anything concrete about party policy prior to the upcoming party meeting at which both will be formally elected to their new posts.

"But the policy remains firm," Carl Bildt declared.

Wants Post Until 2000

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Aug 86 p 7

[Article by Ake Lundqvist: "Bildt: Damned Nonsense to Metnion Age"]

[Text] Lars Ahlmark, chairman of the Conservative Party's election committee, did not manage to say many words of introduction before he was interrupted by the new chairman of his party.

"The election committee," said Ahlmark, "has unanimously endorsed Carl Bildt as the new party chairman, a man who in spite of his relatively young age..."

"Damned nonsense," Bildt said in a stage whisper.

That may have been Carl Bildt's first public political blasphemy. It may also have been the first sign of the transformation of the cool objective security policy analyst into a politician of party leader stature. A spontaneous irritation, an unexpected remark, a glimpse of the personality and humanity that Ulf Adelsohn had so much of, perhaps a little too much.

But otherwise Carl Bildt started out with a very formal attitude, a serious expression and rigid posture to give general, almost deprecating answers to all questions.

Why did he agree to become party leader?

"It is a responsible, stimulating and interesting job."

Interesting in what way?

"Working for important ideas that one believes in, taking part and influencing society."

How does he describe his ideological position?

"A liberal lover of freedom with a conservative sense of responsibility. Neither one or the other, but both in concert."

Will the policy of the Conservative Party now be changed in any respect?

"No. Our policy is firmly set. We will continue to build on 78 years of ideological programs and 84 years of party programs."

Other than that Bildt did not wish to make any political statement.

Not the Soviet Union

"I am the election committee's candidate for party chairman. But the party congress elects the chairman. Until then Ulf Adelsohn is chairman of the party."

But isn't it unlikely that the congress will oppose a unanimous recommendation by the election committee?

"Well, yes, but this is not the Soviet Union, this is a democratic party with a sovereign party congress."

What is his view of the disagreements among the nonsocialist parties?

"There are no major problems. Cooperation today is much better than it was 5 or 10 years ago."

How long will he serve as party chairman?

"My ambition is to work in politics until around the end of the century. But I don't intend to stay until I reach retirement age--that would be around the year 2019."

Opera Visit

And that is how it went. Quick, correct and somewhat meaningless answers. The only question that seemed to throw Bildt off balance was this one:

When did you last go to the opera?

"Well, it must be quite a long time ago...I would have to think about it...."

Lars Tobisson, the party's first vice chairman, moved in to rescue Bildt from his indecision:

"It was probably at the last party congress, we ended it with a visit to the opera."

But no, Bildt did not agree with him.

"That time I was so annoyed that my wife did not get a ticket that I didn't go myself. No, the last time was when a nonsocialist undersecretary had two free tickets and invited me to go along.

"Incidentally, he later became the leader of the Liberal Party."

Carl Bildt scored his second point with that remark.

Gradually, during the 1 1/2 hours spent talking with reporters at Conservative Party headquarters, the tension eased. Bildt's statements became more candid.

He praised Ingvar Carlsson.

"A good debater, direct, honest but generous too. He is the leading Social Democrat I most enjoy debating with. I recall a debate on wage-earner funds that was quite productive. I did not win and neither did he. There was a combination of sharpness, friendliness and respect. The last is very important. One must respect one's political opponents."

False Trails

However Bildt let up somewhat on the respect when he started giving his opinion of the political parties.

"The Social Democrats had a period of deep decline during the opposition years. We all know that the Liberal Party has gone off on all kinds of false trails. And the Center Party...well, that is something else again."

The implication being that only the Conservatives have maintained a steady, reliable course, only Conservative policy deserves complete respect.

Is Carl Bildt less of a result-oriented politician than Adelson, less impatient?

Uncomfortable

"I can see results in other ways--in influencing the debate, influencing the ideological climate. Ulf was uncomfortable in the opposition, but that is not the case with me."

Bildt showed more signs of being uncomfortable in the government position.

"I remember the years of the nonsocialist government, the number of things that had to be done each day. In the end, one felt a kind of impotence.

"One goes into a government with one's ideological batteries charged, full of energy. Later one feels one's energy draining away, one becomes a prisoner of the apparatus. That is why I am a firm supporter of regular power changes."

Isn't he nervous about the party leader role? As security policy expert he could fall back on his knowledge, sharpness and coolness. Quite different qualities are also required of a party leader and many times the personality of the party leader can be at least as important as his arguments.

"Personality does not play such a big role, only the media believe that, especially TV. All the polls show that party policy is what determines success or failure."

Finally we pointed out that he would probably have children in the next few years and be forced--like Adelson--to reconcile being the father of small children with having a job that requires 100 percent of his time.

"That's true."

How does he feel about it?

"Well...I'll worry about it when the time comes. Things always work out one way or another."

So there is still a touch of lightheartedness beneath the grave youthful exterior of the Conservative Party's new chairman.

SDP: 'Ideal' For Us

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Aug 86 p 9

[Article by Ann-Marie Asheden]

[Text] All the actors on the political scene now welcome the newcomer, Mr Bildt. It is not yet certain which role he will play, but at the moment the news of his arrival on the scene does not threaten any of the old actors.

It would have been different if Anders Wijkman had been given the job. In that case both Ingvar Carlsson and Bengt Westerberg would have had competition for the leading role as defender of the weak. With Carl Bildt the risk is regarded as minimal due to his "resemblance to a factory owner in his ability to restrain his consideration for those who are further down."

So at party headquarters around the city and in Riksdag people are looking forward to the fall with interest. Will the newcomer make any false moves? Or will he be a personality on the political scene?

Ideal Leader

As yet there is no need for strategies concerning how to receive the newcomer. They are calmly awaiting his debut at the extra Conservative Party meeting a few weeks from now.

"It is safer not to act on the basis of one's own preconceptions," said the Social Democrats who were all displaying a lot of confidence.

"From our point of view Carl Bildt is the ideal party leader. He represents a policy we dislike. The combination of seriousness, a certain arrogance and a rough way of speaking also bodes well. It is possible that he has qualities that have not yet emerged, but they will probably show up.

Young Whippersnappers

"It would have been even better if it had been Lars Tobisson, of course, but on the other hand it was lucky that they did not choose Anders Wijkman. He is an attractive man with his humanitarian perspective on life."

No Social Democratic strategist is concerned about debates between Ingvar Carlsson and Carl Bildt. They will be delightfully refreshing with a polite tone and clear "sections," which is good in a democracy.

Things are more complicated where the nonsocialists are concerned. Carl Bildt and Bengt Westerberg are quite similar. They belong to the same generation and have the same analytical disposition.

"There will be a struggle for the territory between these young whippersnappers," one Social Democrat predicted.

"Carl Bildt's leading competitor is named Bengt Westerberg. Things may heat up between them both in reality and on the stage," a Center Party member said.

But the day after Mr Bildt was nominated the two were seen having a friendly lunch together at an inn in the capital.

Of course Bengt Westerberg has an advantage due to his position as the number two man in terms of familiarity with the party leader scene, following the enormous turbulence that swept away almost all the members of the old guard in less than a year.

'Clever Devil'

But the newcomer is shrewd. Everyone is aware of that. He is a "clever devil with a practical knack." He has been trained in the political corridors and is familiar with all the short cuts and secret passages.

The only woman on stage will have no trouble in continuing to play the role of earth mother. Malicious Social Democrats believe that shaken nonsocialists could be attracted by her air of confidence and her defense of our basic life conditions. And the two "young whippersnappers" are not much to hold onto when the whole world falls apart, as it did for many people this spring.

To sum up, things may be quite objective and tranquil on the political scene in the future with three actors as analytically inclined as Carlsson, Westerberg and Bildt. The days of the big emotional surges are in the past now that Palme, Falldin, Bohman and Adelson have left the stage.

However there are inflammatory areas, a Liberal pointed out. If Carl Bildt starts challenging the now conciliatory Sten Andersson in the area of foreign policy--then the debate could flare up.

Paper Views 'Difficult Task'

Stockholm DACENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Aug 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Bildt Faces Difficult Task"]

[Text] In spite of everything the news that the Conservatives intend to elect 37-year-old Carl Bildt as party chairman is mildly surprising. There was another candidate who could probably have represented the Conservatives in a more authoritative and appealing way for a number of years to come. Bildt's day as party leader would have come eventually.

For several years the Conservative Party had more support in the opinion polls than the Liberal and Center parties combined. The party's success came to an abrupt and unexpected end during the election campaign last year and today the party's prospects seem uncertain. Bildt will encounter an entirely different situation than the one Ulf Adelsohn faced when he became party chairman in 1981. There is no clear model for success to refer to. The national mood is not favorable to the Conservatives, as it was 5 years ago.

What was the reason for the Conservative gains in the 1970's? In 1980 Costa Bohman gave two reasons. He said that it might be partly "a reaction to the very radical trend of the 1960's" as well as a response to "the bureaucratization, collectivization and politicization of society." He described the public mood that carried the Conservatives along as the "new individualism."

At the same time there was an international shift toward neoconservatism and neoliberalism, especially in the United States and Great Britain. Keynesianism was pronounced dead and Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher introduced what was thought to be an economic revolution. Supply-side economics, deregulation, monetarism and the dismantling of the welfare state were the cornerstones of the policy. In Sweden a number of previously forgotten or ignored thinkers, such as F. A. Hayek, were introduced, expanding the framework of the political debate. Conservative ideas acquired intellectual prestige.

The "new individualism" or neoliberalism represented quite a deviation from the mainstream of Swedish politics, an exact mirror image of the radicalism of the 1960's. As Bohman said 6 years ago: "Then it was easy for the pendulum to swing the other way." For the last year or so public opinion has started to swing in the other direction, hopefully without throwing out the valuable features of the new individualism.

One of the reasons for this is that the new ideas turned out to be hard to put into practice in both the leading western nations. "Reaganomics" has been quite different in practice than it was in theory, as witnessed by the dizzying budget deficit. In Great Britain 3.2 million people are out of work and the percentage of the population living below the poverty line has doubled in the space of a few years, according to a recent report.

At the same time Sweden has recovered from the big welfare state crisis the Conservatives thought we were experiencing. This has happened without the use

of drastic remedies in the form of high unemployment or social cuts. The decline in inflation in the past year totally contradicts the laws our domestic monetarists believed they had established. The economic continuity has turned out to be different than Conservative critics of the system predicted. And not everything can be put down to Sweden's luck.

"Another step backward for nonsocialism?" is the theme of SVENSKA DAGBLADET's debate series this summer. The step backward the newspaper is concerned about is probably not the decline of the nonsocialist share of the votes, which has remained relatively constant for decades. The anxiety involves the Conservatives and the risk of an ideological dilution of the nonsocialist alternative.

A party leader cannot change the spirit of the times. Bildt has a less favorable starting position than his two immediate predecessors and his chances of succeeding depend on whether he draws the right conclusions from the experiences of the 1980's. He will devote the near future to confirming the correctness of the policy the party already pursues, but quite soon he will face other and harder demands. The Conservative Party is a party in need of new ideas and guidelines.

Good, Dry Humor

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Aug 86 p 2

[Commentary by Annika Jansson: "It Will Be Quite Interesting"]

[Text] "Sometimes one feels like an old fox," rasped Carl Bildt, who is 37 years old. And this political fox has a chance of growing older in Swedish politics. On Wednesday the election committee endorsed Carl Bildt as the new leader of the Conservative Party after Ulf Adelsohn.

The work of the election committee ended earlier than anticipated. After just 2 days of talks the 13 people on the committee were able to come up with a solution: a Conservative leadership trio with Carl Bildt flanked by Lars Tobisson as first vice chairman and Ingegerd Troedsson as second vice chairman.

And the election committee was unanimous. Unless something totally unexpected happens Bildt will be the new head of the Conservative Party after 23 August when the Conservatives are holding their extra party meeting.

It is an elegant solution. After Ulf Adelsohn announced his resignation, Bildt has increasingly stood out as his most likely successor. Strong forces in the party openly supported him. The Stockholm district and SVENSKA DAGBLADET did not conceal the fact that Bildt was their choice.

"It will be quite interesting," Bildt conceded, standing in front of a lot of sky-blude posters in the inner city. Ideologically he characterizes himself as liberal and conservative. A "liberal love of freedom" and a "conservative sense of responsibility" are united in Bildt's basic view.

Everyone who feels that liberalism and conservatism are opposed to each other has thus acquired a new enemy.

Conservative policy will be the same if Carl Bildt becomes head of the party, as he said himself. Bildt has long had a real influence over the shaping of policy and it would probably be hard for him to find any party vies that he could not accept.

And the youthful Bildt, who gives a cold and uninspiring external impression, displays good, dry humor. Maybe he has been practicing during the months he waited for the election committee's decision. He said with regard to his reputation that he has had to deal with various matters of a serious nature that did not lend themselves to lighthearted treatment.

"I have Bildt's CV," a helpful party official said. The CV, the curriculum vitae or biography of the Americans and the Latins, is a long one. Carl Bildt has been in the Conservative camp since 1973 when he became editor of the periodical SVENSK LINJE and chairman of the independent Conservative student association. He has been a member of the Conservative Party's executive committee since 1981.

He is young but he has been waiting in the aisles for a long time. His years as party leader could surpass those of Ulf Adelsohn. He himself laughs and points out that if he stays in office until he reaches the same age as his father-in-law, Gosta Bohman, he will retire in the year 2019.

Continuity, in other words. In more than one respect. It remains to be seen if he can restore faith in the future to the Conservative Party.

6578

CSO: 3650/289

USSR URGED TO STOP 'OPPRESSION' OF BULGARIAN TURKS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 14 Jul 86 p 9

[Report by Kemal Onder]

[Excerpt] Mehmet Cavus, the President of the Balkan Turks' Solidarity and Cultural Association, stated that the Soviet Union, which has supported the "Year of Peace," must not remain a spectator before the oppression and mistreatment of the Turks in Bulgaria.

Stating that he has requested a meeting with the Soviet parliamentarians who are expected to arrive in Istanbul today, Cavus said: "If the meeting takes place we will tell the Soviet parliamentarians about the atrocities committed against our kinsmen in Bulgaria. Since 1986 is the Year of Peace, they cannot simply remain spectators before what is being done to 2 million Turks who are suffering under oppression and brutality in Bulgaria. Let them prove that peace is not just official talk. Meanwhile, neither European nor Turkish reporters are allowed to enter areas inhabited by Turks in Bulgaria. At the very least, Soviet delegations can visit those areas and investigate the situation. At least they should be allowed to do so."

'Aysel' is Only a Symbol; There are Many More Aysels in Bulgaria

Stating that "Aysel," the daughter of the Ozgur family, is only a symbol and that there are many more Aysels suffering under oppression and brutality in Bulgaria, Cavus said:

"The racist Bulgarian government is denying the material and moral existence of the Bulgarian Turks. The truth is that until 1984 all history and geography books published in Bulgaria and all reports of the communist party congresses cited the existence of Bulgarian Turks, and measures were taken with regard to Turks. The Politburo of the communist party's central committee issued a special report in December 1969 about 'cultural work among Turks.' In the period 1975-1976 decisions were taken with regard to the economic and cultural advancement of Turkish-inhabited provinces such as Pasmakli, Kircali, Sumnu, Razgrat and Eskicuma. Our organization is continuing its work across this country. As of April 1986, our general headquarters maintained a list--alas incomplete--of 172,000 Turkish relatives living in Bulgaria. This list of relatives affects 1,860,000 Turks. Knowing that many immigrants do not submit a list of relatives, this figure is closer to 2 million. The tragedy is not just Aysel's tragedy. Aysel is just a symbol. There are many other Aysels suffering under oppression and brutality in Bulgaria."

'BULGARIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION' CONDEMNS OPPRESSION OF TURKS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 6 Jul 86 p 8

[Report by S. Halit Kakinc]

[Text] The Bulgarian Democratic Union, an exile organization headquartered in Bern, Switzerland, issued a declaration protesting the oppression of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria by the communist regime in Sofia.

The declaration, which was sent directly to our paper by Peter Hajidimitrov, the organization's official spokesman and the editor of KUBRAT, the official press organ of the organization, harshly criticizes the "puppet leaders" in Sofia and states that the only chance of a free Bulgaria against Russian and Bolshevik expansionism is an alliance with Turkey.

The text, entitled "The Bulgarian Democratic Union's Declaration and Protest with Regard to the Communist Terror Practiced Against the Turkish Minority in Bulgaria," states in brief:

"The exiled Bulgarian Democratic Union is witnessing with grief the terror practiced by the communist Sofia regime against Turks who were born in Bulgaria and who have lived in that country for generations.

"The campaign started by the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1984 has turned into forced assimilation. Many Turks who refused to change their names were subjected to Bolshevik terrorism and were either killed or severely wounded. Meanwhile, the Sofia regime spread unfounded allegations among the populace that the Turks are conducting underground activities. The problem has created a negative atmosphere in our neighbor, Turkey.

"The Muslims who are being subjected to the tortures of Moscow's puppets are our compatriots. The entire Bulgarian nation has been similarly suffering under communist terror for the past 40 years by being wiped out as a nation and by being Russified."

Hajidimitrov strongly refutes the charge that "the Bulgarians are a Slavic tribe"—a charge that has been relentlessly perpetuated by Czarist Russia as well as Soviet Russia. He responds to that charge by saying that the Bulgarians are not even remotely related to Slavs and that they are a Turanic tribe with Central Asian origins. He says:

'From Europe to Central Asia'

"In Europe Estonia, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary—whose populations are of Finnish-Uigur origin—as well as the five republics, the six autonomous regions and the four oblasts in Central Asia with Turkic populations are under Russian-Bolshevik rule. Historic and blood ties link us with all these peoples. Even the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences admits in a 455-page book that the Bulgarians have been brothers with these Turkic tribes for thousands of years and that they are not in any way related to the Russians.

"The truth is that Russia has never viewed Bulgaria with friendly eyes. In wars fought against the Turks, its objective was not to help the Bulgarians or other races, but to conquer the Turkish Straits and to turn the Balkans into Russian provinces, constantly pursuing the goal of controlling Istanbul and warm water ports—a policy which originated with Peter the Great and which continues until today.

"The policy of Bulgarizing the Turkish minority, which is an unprecedented act of provocation and barbarism, is directed from Moscow. Sofia has taken on the responsibility of implementing this foolish and criminal plan.

'We Are Accused of Being Blindly Pro-Russian'

"The Bulgarian people, who have been accused by the West of being 'obedient, and blind vassals' have been suffering under Moscow's yoke for years. Therefore they are not directly responsible. The Bulgarian Communist Party is Moscow's puppet and therefore incapable of judging the consequences of this anti-Turkish policy.

"The Bulgarian Democratic Union, on the other hand, is fully aware that the most rational position Bulgaria can take is to form an alliance with Turkey against Russian and Bolshevik expansionism.

"As Bulgarians living in exile we protest the oppression of the Turkish minority, and we declare that we will always be friends with the neighboring Turkish nation and that we will always bow respectfully before the memory of the legendary Kemal Ataturk.

"Our party wishes to see a permanent state of political compatibility and equality in the Balkans and Europe. Our party declares that this political compatibility must be based on the principles of toleration and national identity. The anti-Bulgarian Bulgarian communist party which is run from Moscow is an enemy of these principles, a symbol of state terrorism and a pioneer in the destruction of nationalities."

On behalf of the Bulgarian Democratic Union, [signed] Peter Hajidimitrov, Asen Kotzeff, Georgi Didoff.

Attila's Greatgrandson

The official press organ of the Bulgarian Democratic Union is called KUBRAT. According to Hajidimitrov, Kubrat was Attila's grandson (Attila-Irnik-Kubrat)

and is the father of Asparuh Khan who was the founder of the first Bulgarian state.

The paper's name, Kubrat, is followed by the following: "Press Organ of the Bulgarian Turanic Union."

Hajidimitrov showed with excitement a book published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in only 800 copies. The book is entitled "Turco-Bulgarians and the Hungarians" and its author is Peter Uhas. Hajidimitrov explained that his party was founded by Professor Alexander Zankoff, a friend of Turks.

According to Hajidimitrov this policy was founded by politician Stefan Stanbuloff, who was murdered by Russian agents [as published].

Our interesting guest immigrated to Switzerland with his family while he was a child and outside his political activities he works as a dentist. We asked him: "Do you sincerely believe that Bulgaria will one day regain its independence and establish brotherly ties with Turkey?" For a moment tears welled up in his eyes. Then he struck the table with his fist and said:

"Not perhaps. One day for sure."

9588

CSO: 3554/141

SDPP SECRETARY GENERAL ON STATE OF POLITICS, ECONOMY

Istanbul HURRIYET (PAZAR Supplement) in Turkish 6 Jul 86 p 4

[Text] "I was elected Secretary General at the first meeting of the [Social Democratic Populist] party's Central Decision and Administrative Council meeting after the party congress. It is evident and well-known that this is difficult and responsible office. However, let me add that I have not encountered any serious difficulties since taking office. The most important reason for that is that the Social Democratic Populist Party [SDPP] has completed its party organization process. As is known, no party outside SDPP has completed its party organization process using democratic rules.

"Our party, which is organized virtually all over Turkey, is very lively and aware of the problems of each region and has an organization that is sensitive with regard to the government's depoliticization policy. At this point in time, our most important task is to establish a sound relationship between the organization, the Central Decision and Administrative Council and the party's Assembly group."

This is what SDPP's new Secretary General, Baris Can—who has been in office for only 6 weeks—told HURRIYET PAZAR. What else did the young Secretary General have to say? Here are some of Can's remarks:

About Himself

—I am emotional, but not the point of being touchy. I am emotional, but I am not easily offended. Conversely, I cannot offend others.

—I drink alcoholic beverages. I drink raki 365 days a year to the extent that my health and the circumstances permit. Generally, I do not know how much I drink. But I have always stood up soberly from where I have sat to drink.

—What is important is to be able to drink in amounts that will not impair your time or work. I adjust the amount I drink in accordance with the job I have been entrusted. I adjust the dosage. For example, I reduced the dosage I consume since I became Secretary General.

—I like Turkish music very much. I like singing with my friends. I am also an amateur oud player. That does not disturb anybody. But if a good player is present, I do not play.

About the Party's Leader

—[SDPP leader Erdal] Inonu inspires confidence and is consistent in addition to being a unifying factor. You know how theoretical physicists are; they finish whatever they start. If something starts wrong, it remains wrong until the end. Mr Inonu started right and he is going to finish it right.

About Ozal

—[Prime Minister Turgut] Ozal is not a liberal. Ozal is a liberal for friends and relatives; he is a capitalist for friends and relatives.

—Ozal's objective is as follows: What is important is that the foreign exchange keeps flowing. It does not matter if it is black market money. Let the foreign exchange come in, and let the exports grow. What he is not saying is this: The balance of payments deficit has increased; there is a \$3-billion deficit in the country's balance of payments. What has happened to this \$3-billion deficit since the time he took office? There has been no change. Keeping exports steadily up does not mean success. Lower exports may sometimes be useful if they can save the economy from being dependent on overseas. In other words, what is important is the balance of payments.

About Socialists

—We ask all of our socialist colleagues and friends to please form their own parties. We had some experiences on this issue in the past. Formulating different policies within a social democratic party serves no useful purpose.

—The current Constitution may permit the formation of a socialist party, and such a party must be established. A social democratic party must support the formation of such a party within a democratization framework, and we are prepared to do that.

About Motherland Party

—The Motherland Party is one form of the parties designated to become government at the end of 12 September before there was any opposition. Its present unity and organization is contingent on its being in office. It has no ideology. A conservative party cannot be pro-social justice.

About SDPP

—Social democratic parties are in essence parties of the masses. In other words, we are not the party of a class. We must win votes from the workers, merchants and small businessmen and we must meet their expectations. But the working class and the low-income sector are given higher priority in our program.

About the Democratic Left Party

—I do not believe that there are any differences between ourselves and the Democratic Left Party. I do not see any major differences when I look at the programs of the two parties.

About the Economy

—We no longer have a budget in Turkey. Ozal has taken control of it using the system of funds and has established a mechanism which he can use to waste money. We will see the drawbacks of this system in the future.

—Production is slowing down in Turkey. That means that what we have is just some phony trade. Today, Ozal is spending the assets of the State Economic Enterprises he despises.

—Ozal does not want a Turkey which is producing goods. Singapore is an example. White buildings—even the trading of women. But that is not important [for him]; let us buy and sell. It does not matter what comes in; let it come in from the outside or from the inside.

About the Political Situation

—Everyone is seeking his place, and everyone will find his place. It is now evident that this system cannot be run by shutting down parties and concocting patchwork parties. Everyone is finding his place among the citizens. The assembly deputies are also finding their places. These quests will also continue on the right—they will continue until the party formation process is completed.

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CSO: 3554/141

UNION LEADER STEINKUEHLER DISCUSSES FUTURE OF LABOR MOVEMENT

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHE in German No 15 10 Apr 86 pp 27, 29

[Interview with Franz Steinkuehler, Deputy Chairman, IG Metall, by Fred David; date and place not given: "Only dreamers want to free us from work"]

[Text] The project is unique in its way: practically, by means of a referendum, the German Labor Union Federation (DGB) wants to learn from the citizens what they think of the restriction of the right to strike. One of the most vehement opponents of this curtailment is Franz Steinkuehler, 49 years old, deputy chairman of the IG Metall, who is considered the most promising candidate for the chairmanship of the largest individual labor union in Europe (about 2.5 million members). The son of a police officer completed a training course on machine tools. In his own words, his work as director of work scheduling in a metal factory brought him into conflicts of conscience: "In that activity, I had no choice but to dump on my comrades, whether I wanted to or not. The conflict of interests finally became unbearable". In the IG Metall his career as professional official advanced rapidly.

Question: Great anxiety prevails among the West German labor unions. Through a change in the law—the ominous Paragraph 116—they see their right to strike restricted. The government wants to create a situation in which employees indirectly affected by a strike—for example, those locked out because of a lack of supplies—receive no unemployment benefits. Do the labor unions fear a loss of power because labor struggles in the future will be more decentralized?

Answer: It is a question of a massive encroachment on wage autonomy. The government wants to give the employers a total preponderance of power. They could use the weapon of lockout even more effectively than in the past. The above-mentioned change in the law could not exert pressure to split the present professional field of the metal industry according to branches, thus the negotiation of individual contracts for the automobile industry, the watch and clock industry, and so forth.

Question: That could have advantages.

Answer: Have you any notion of what would then be wrong here? For example, the automobile industry is very efficient; 90 percent of the workers there are

organized. There we could conclude excellent contracts, while the other branches would have to be onlookers.

Question: Are you afraid of English conditions, because then each branch would feather its own nest?

Answer: Yes. The employers should guard against such attempts at splintering. That cannot be the intention of a social state, because it has the task of seeing to it that the living and working conditions in the entire country are approximately equal. We already have a north-south differential which is at the limit of the tolerable.

Question: In the rich Federal Republic are the economic differences between north and south really a weighty domestic political problem?

Answer: Certainly. In the north we have a substantially greater unemployment, up to 20 percent depending on the region, and deep-seated structural problems. Think only of the shipyards, which are hardly receiving any more orders because of the cheap competition overseas. In the north the people are earning perceptibly less, and for young people there are considerably fewer opportunities for training than in the south.

Question: There are now 2.5 million unemployed in West Germany. Under these conditions, how do you expect to enforce your demands? The strike, the strongest means of pressure of the labor unions, is becoming more and more unrealistic.

Answer: There is no question whatsoever that in times of mass unemployment the strike as an instrument is more difficult to handle than in times of prosperity. In Germany, however, the strike has always been something different than in Italy or Great Britain. It takes a great deal for German labor unions to call a strike.

Question: It appears that the strike in the Federal Republic is more a matter of labor union lawyers and bookkeepers. They calculate exactly how long a strike has to last and under what conditions. Only when everything has been precisely clarified are the rank and file mobilized.

Answer: Now do you really imagine that? Does the labor union leadership, in case of need, push the red button and then the vassals start marching? That is unrealistic. First of all, every labor union leadership is anxious to avoid a strike. Before a strike can take place in this country, many conditions must be fulfilled. First the wage commissions, the factory assemblies, and the assemblies of officials must have their say, and finally the members themselves must decide in the strike vote.

Question: However, things went differently in 1984, during the hardest labor struggle in the metal industry in decades. Then the initiative came clearly from above; the rank and file were conspicuously reticent.

Answer: That strike was prepared by the leadership. At a certain point, however, it shifted into the hands of the rank and file. Otherwise it would not have become such a mass movement which lasted more than six weeks, without strikebreakers worth mentioning and in spite of the powerful political pressure that was exerted against us.

Question: Is it true that this strike cost your labor union half a million marks, although only about 60,000 employees went on strike, in strategically important places, to be sure?

Answer: That's right, only we paid not only for the strikers but also for those locked out by the employers. There were 350,000.

Question: How rich is IG Metallen?

Answer: It is not a question of rich or poor. The question that should be asked is what means are available to finance a strike. We own land, houses, and schools throughout the Federal Republic, but they do not count for the strike fund; we cannot convert them into cash.

Question: Concerning the future of the labor unions: according to a study by the Basel Forecasting Institute, from 1.5 to 2 million assembly jobs in the Federal Republic will be eliminated in the next four to five years. There will be more and more white-collar workers and fewer and fewer manual workers. How will such a traditional metalworkers union as the IG Metall cope with such an upheaval?

Answer: It is a prejudice to assume that white-collar workers are more difficult to organize for labor-union interests than manual workers. Take the civil servants, who in general are a little more conservative than the white-collar workers. However, in the postal service, the railroads, and public service we have an outstanding degree of organization. In the automobile industry, 70 percent of the white-collar workers are in the labor union. On the whole, our organization potential will still be great enough in the year 2000.

Question: Then how does the IG Metall intend to attract the white-collar workers?

Answer: In the past years it was an error of the labor unions to expect that the white-collar workers would have to become officials before they were permitted to have a say. That just won't do. White-collar workers, like many young people, have reservations about such large organizations.

Question: In the West German Industry, the 38.5-hour week is now in effect. How long will the work week be at the turn of the millennium?

Answer: The work week will not stop at 35 hours. It is completely within the range of possibility that we will then work 30 hours per week.

Question: Thus you assume that the industrial base will remain large enough that the work will not run out?

Answer: It will shrink, but it will remain large enough. However, an entirely different problem that is in store for us is becoming visible. The new technologies can be used positively and negatively. Our age-old goal is to get rid of exhausting manual work and to humanize the world of labor. The new technologies offer us for the first time the possibility of eliminating the unfortunate separation between manual and mental work. For the first time, we can bring fragmented work together again. To do that, however, we need employees who have again learned to think and decide independently, and who have not basically abandoned thinking by performing partial tasks on the assembly line.

Question: Don't you see the danger of the creation of a small, elitist group of employees who have the entire production in their control, a new hierarchy of employees, so to speak?

Answer: By no means would I accept that. Already today, the level of education of the employees in industry is making it less and less possible for hierarchies of performance to develop. Workers will take over tasks which today are typically white-collar work, specifically, supervision, inspection, planning, organizing.

Question: Isn't that a euphemistic description of the future world of labor? Peter Glotz, futurologist of the SPD, speaks of a two-thirds company. That means that the enterprise of the future will have a highly-qualified regular team as its personnel, well paid, who will be permanently attached to the enterprise, with all sorts of privileges. The remaining two-thirds will be "fluctuating personnel", easily replaceable, unskilled, and cheap.

Answer: There are similar studies by the Geneva Batelle Institute, according to which 45 percent of the employees in the year 2000 will be so-called fluctuating personnel. That is an absolutely horrible notion. Then we would have a different republic, no longer a social state. The reason for these undesirable developments is the new technologies. Here there is a need to decide on the policy, in order to set the course in the right direction while there is still time.

Question: And what role will the labor unions still play in that?

Answer: We have already created at least one, and that is quite important, namely, making it clear to our people that the development of technology is not a natural phenomenon. The employment of technology is always controlled by interests, and therefore it can be guided or at least influenced.

Question: The question is only: by whom? Probably not primarily by the labor unions?

Answer: I am not so pessimistic. We have never before had such well-trained workers as today. The contradiction cannot be maintained in the long run:

after knocking off work, high educated, with lively cultural and political interests, and at the same time in the factory, a maneuverable mass—catchword "fluctuating personnel". It won't do to try to combine technology of the 21st century with the ideology of the 19th century.

We do not want technology to be employed in order to free us from work; only a few dreamers among us believe in that. We seek liberation in work. For us, work is not merely earning one's livelihood; it is far more.

Question: However, this new type of employee is no longer necessarily the one who listens to the labor-union official at the factory assembly. I refer again to Peter Glotz, who is unsuspecting in this connection. He predicts that among the employees there will be a "push to individualization" and there will no longer be any classic job-seekers. It is typical, according to Glotz, that "the European labor movement is even worse prepared for this development than capital. How do you cope with this harsh criticism from your own camp?

Answer: I believe that Glotz is not completely wrong in his analysis. The employees have been persuaded too often that technical development is irreversible, unchangeable, inevitable. As a result, the employees developed a certain distrust of technology. However, we have made progress there. We must do more than always merely react to new technologies.

Question: But on the whole the development seems to be faster than the labor unions. Robots are already assembling complete cars. Isn't automation running away from you?

Answer: I do not take such a gloomy view. For example, there is the FSP Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, who announces all over the country the end of the labor society and speaks of the end of the Social Democratic era. Well, on the course of history, greater people than Professor Dahrendorf have been mistaken!

Question: Whom do you have in mind?

Answer: Take August Bebel, the first chairman of the SPD, who at the Stuttgart Party Congress expressed the fear that the end of the labor unions was near. And that was in the last century, when the first wave of industrialization was just coming in. And what happened? We are still around.

Others predicted years and decades ago that the labor unions, with demands for reducing the working hours, were sawing off the branch on which they were sitting. That is all old hat.

The labor union of the future will not be there to take care of the people around the clock. On the contrary, it must support the trend toward independence.

Question: Isn't that a break with labor-union traditions? The workers should create an independent culture for themselves; that always corresponded to the labor-union self-image. There was no question of integration.

Answer: In the history of the labor movement there have again and again been conflicts concerning the correct path. There was the great dispute as to whether employees should adopt the bourgeois culture or whether they should develop their own culture. We want to share in all the riches of this society.

Question: However, the term "bourgeois culture" contradicts . . .

Answer: . . . bourgeois culture, what does that mean? For me, it is basically an inadmissible abusive word. I no longer see the labor unions in the eternal posture of defense and resistance. I see the labor unions in the eternal posture of defense and resistance. I see the labor unions for the first time—if not so broadly and urgently as I would wish—in the situation in which they are really beginning to participate in the development creatively.

Question: Let us come back to the present. In the Federal Republic there are now 2.5 million unemployed. How then does all that fit together? On the one hand, the West German economy is in better shape than it has been for years. The low prices of oil are freeing billions for investments within the country—and yet there are more and more unemployed. How do you explain this contradiction?

Answer: As for the economic situation, the Federal Republic is incredibly lucky. However, from the example of the price of oil, which has freed about 30 billion marks in German industry, one can see that the will is lacking to carry out the struggle against unemployment in this country. These 30 billion will be used by industry not for the benefit of the labor market but for the benefit of profits. I cannot blame the entrepreneurs. Here the state has failed catastrophically. It neglected to divert this unforeseen gift of money to the labor market.

Question: And the unemployed—what are they getting from all that?

Answer: The facts are sobering. Each year 80,000 to 100,000 more young people enter the labor market than the number of jobs vacated through retirement. The second problem is our diligence and our productivity, which are far higher than the production. The capacities of the metal industry are being only about half utilized. Consequently, if there is no growth or if the growth remains low, the number of employed persons will become smaller and smaller, in spite of increasing productivity. Even according to optimistic estimates, unemployment will tend to increase beyond the year 1990.

Question: Thus will we continue to have mass unemployment in the midst of prosperity?

Answer: We now have an excellent economic situation. However, I do not dare imagine what will happen when the next crisis comes. Then all the forecasts will go down the drain; then unemployment will increase by leaps and bounds.

DISCONTENT OVER LABOR SUPPRESSION SAID GROWING

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 26 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Sukran Ketenci in the column "Workers World": "Eskisehir March"]

[Text] Different interpretations are being made following the TURK-IS [Turkish Confederation of Labor] march in Eskisehir, just as there were after the Izmir rally.

Prime Minister Ozal has once again used his formula to allow himself to make favorable comments even when protests are directed against the administration. By saying, "Democracy is at work," he showed that he will continue to use actions of this kind as proof that democracy is functioning in Turkey.

What, in fact, do the TURK-IS Izmir rally and Eskisehir march signify? Are they protest actions against the loss of worker rights aimed at the administration, as TURK-IS said and which was the rationale for the actions? Are they signs that democracy is working in Turkey as Prime Minister Ozal said?

TURK-IS adopted a continuous "action" plan in response to the reaction of the workers, of the rank and file, to their rapidly worsening working and living conditions owing to both the legal platform and administration-employer practices. It is having a hard time implementing the "action" decision. It was surprised by the Ozal administration's restrictions on retirement rights at the time of the expanded rank and file meeting held in Ankara, and this action lost it points rather than gaining points with the rank and file.

Even though, for this reason, it went to the Izmir rally even more angry at the Ozal administration, the title it gave to the Izmir rally was "appeal to parliament for changes in the law" because of its fear of what the laws can do to labor. The rank and file that appeared on their own to fill the square saw the rationale of the rally as a political protest against the administration, and the overall voice heard at the rally was "Ozal resign," "General strike" and "Government resign." Meanwhile, the top TURK-IS administration and leaders of the large unions who avoided bringing their Izmir workers and their own rank and file to the rally site received their share of protests, while the SDPP [Social Democratic Populist Party] leaders who attended the rally were welcomed enthusiastically. In the end, quite a few people who called for the government's resignation, shouted general strike slogans and slogans against the union leaders and in favor of the SDPP were arrested and prosecuted.

At the Eskisehir march, unlike Izmir, police took measures to prevent outside participation other than the workers brought by the TURK-IS unions because, according to the Eskisehir governor's announcement, the TURK-IS administration requested it. Even the SDPP officers were able to join the march only by going around the back streets to evade police and joining at the very end. The marchers, who this time were all workers, shouted slogans spontaneously, first and foremost, protesting the government. "Government, Ozal resign," "General strike," they said.

If the provisions of the current Assembly and Demonstration March Law were invoked, permission was obtained beforehand and these slogans which were not among the ones designated by TURK-IS would be cause for prosecution. Charges can be brought also for the content of the slogans, not just because they were not on the designated list. The indictments in both the Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions (still in progress) and the Izmir rally trials contain multiple charges for demanding the resignation of the government and a general strike and especially for the ban on unions' engaging in politics. This means that actions and slogans of the same type will sometimes be designated a crime and sometimes, depending on whether tens of thousands of people can be charged and prosecuted at once, be interpreted as "democracy at work."

When democracy is at work, is it not necessary for the fundamental democratic rights to be valid for everyone, all the time, under all circumstances?

In democracies, political parties, unions, associations and the public all have the right to hold meetings and demonstrations whenever they wish, anywhere they wish to protest the practices of a political administration they do not like.

In democracies, labor unions cannot be prosecuted within the scope of "political bans" for launching campaigns and taking action against political administrations engaged in anti-labor practices. In democracies, unions cannot be prosecuted for struggling, engaging in actions and arranging meetings and demonstrations together with political parties and democratic institutions which agree to act in unison with them. Indeed, in democracies, a political party's ability to gain the social democratic rubric is measured by its centrality, its identification with labor.

Although Mr Ozal contends the opposite, marches and rallies cannot be the criterion for democracy at work when the routes and squares where the demonstrations will take place are evacuated from early morning on to prevent people from passing through them and watching or participating in the demonstrations, when rallies and demonstrations can be held only in predesignated locations, usually totally isolated from residents, using only predesignated slogans for which permits have been obtained, can be held only in isolation from political parties and democratic institutions, can be fodder for prosecution when desired and during which the protest desired cannot be held in the manner desired. They can only be an attempt at the ability to exercise what restricted rights exist to the extent that they exist. The Izmir and Eskisehir rallies represent a reaction, a protest which has been building up within the working masses and their supporters in spite of all the legal obstacles, the really extensive measures and prohibitions and all the risks and consequences.

OZAL CRITICIZED FOR OPPOSITION TO EVREN OVER REFORM LAWS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 14 Jul 86 p 2

["Yes/No" column by Oktay Akbal: "Ozal Opposes Evren!"]

[Text] No one wants to remember the reform laws. But these eight laws are embodied in the 1982 Constitution. Article 174 of the Constitution says: "No provision of the Constitution can be construed or interpreted as declaring unconstitutional those clauses of the reform laws—whose goal is to raise the Turkish nation to the level of modern civilization and to preserve the secular nature of the Turkish republic—which were in effect at the time the Constitution was ratified in a referendum."

The unified education law endorsed on 3 March 1924; the hat law of 25 October 1925; the prohibition of dervish lodges and religious mausoleums on 30 October 1925; the endorsement on 17 February 1926 of Article 110 of the Civil Law which stipulates that marriages should be executed before a marriage officer; the endorsement of international law on 20 May 1928; the endorsement of the Latin alphabet on 1 October 1928; the elimination of titles such as effendi, pasha and bey on 26 October 1934; and the prohibition of certain types of dress on 3 December 1934... These laws were included in the 1961 and 1982 constitutions as "unchangeable laws."

When the President saw women with covered heads and faces in Erzurum, he said: "Why do you do that? Open up your faces and see the world with your own eyes." That was a well-meaning gesture. After all, it was Ataturk who said on 30 August 1925:

"In some places I see women who cover their heads with a piece of cloth, or a towel or similar fabric, who hide their faces and who turn their backs or curl up on the ground in the presence of men. What is the meaning and sense of this posture? Gentlemen, could the mothers and daughters of a progressive nation be put in such strange and primitive situations? This is a situation which puts the nation in a ridiculous position. It needs to be corrected immediately."

Sixty-one years have passed since that time, and in many parts of Turkey women still cover their faces, curl up in a corner in the presence of men, observe their surroundings from behind veils and live lives that are removed from the

world and the realities. This is ugly and immoral for all of us. The fact that 61 years later Turkey has failed to change the painful realities of 1925 is shameful for all of us.

The President's gesture, that is his call on women to open up their faces, drew criticism from the Prime Minister. Does that mean that Ozal does not want the modernization of our women? I do not know what else can one expect from the Izmir candidate of the National Salvation Party? No matter how hard he tries to cover it up, every once in a while his true thoughts come out in the open. His wife, daughter and relatives can wear the most expensive dresses and enjoy the most modern conveniences, but if the poor women of Anatolia go on living as they used to 100 years ago, there is nothing to grieve about. Mr Ozal says that he does not favor interference in the way people dress, because he is coming from amongst the people. Well, did not Mr Evren come from amongst the people? Was not Ataturk one of the people?

In his latest speech in Erzurum, the President replied to the Prime Minister: He said that the covering of the women's faces is not a religious requirement. He added:

"There is no such thing in our religion. It was a later addition. That is what they have learned and that is what they are doing. Some people are saying: 'Let us not interfere; let everyone wear what he or she likes.' If we should not interfere now, should we allow everyone to wear fezes and turbans. There are laws about these, and they are included in our Constitution."

There are laws that nobody remembers or wishes to remember. Yes, not everything can be done by the force of law. Some things cannot be done at all particularly by force. Mr Evren's stance in Erzurum, reminded us of Ataturk's remarks on this issue 61 years ago. Time has flown us by, but we have remained where we were. Standing still is equivalent to regression with respect to the flow of time. This means that we have regressed too much in 61 years. If politicians like Mr Ozal are not to blame for this, than who is to blame?

I wish that our opportunistic politicians would read the following remarks by Ataturk:

"In the course of my tours around the country I noticed that our female compatriots cover their faces and eyes tightly and with great care not so much in the villages, but in towns and cities. I imagine that that mode of dress must be causing them severe discomfort particularly in this hot season. Let them show their faces to the world. Let them observe the world carefully with their own eyes. There is nothing to be afraid of in doing that."

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CSO: 3554/144

LAND FOR DISTRIBUTION SAID TO BE INADEQUATE

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 14 Jul 86 pp 14,13

[Report by Faruk Bildirici]

[Text] Sanliurfa—It is estimated that the agricultural lands nationalized in connection with land reform and lands owned by the Treasury will meet the needs of only 20 percent of peasants with little or no land in Sanliurfa. It is also feared that the inadequacy of the amount of land to be distributed and the efforts of large landowners whose lands were nationalized at the beginning of the land reform program to return to their villages may lead to social conflicts.

Care will be taken to insure that landowners do not suffer financial losses in the return of nationalized lands. If the land to be returned has already been distributed, another piece of land with the same value will be returned to the landowner. Landowners who do not wish to take the alternate lands being returned will be offered cash payments for the market price of their lands. Landowners who do accept to take their lands back will pay back the compensation paid for nationalization plus the accrued interest. This way, the Land and Agricultural Reform Directorate General will buy lands at high prices and sell them at low prices.

In Sanliurfa, 4,000 cases are currently being tried in court in connection with disputes over compensation paid for nationalized lands. The Land and Agricultural Reform Directorate General is losing most of these cases, and that is why the nationalizations are costing more. While a total of 467,328,000 Turkish liras were paid initially for nationalized lands in Sanliurfa, this amount has risen to 728,383,000 Turkish liras as a result of lost court cases. If court expenses are added to these costs, the directorate's agricultural reform expenditures so far, the nationalization compensation amounts will be determined by appraisal commissions to be formed [as published].

Sanliurfa residents are finding inadequate the dry land distribution norms set by the Ozal government. Everyone from large landowners to agricultural engineers agree that 2,000 donums of dry land in Sanliurfa will not yield an income of 1 million Turkish liras in 1984 wholesale prices as claimed by the law. On the other hand, it is stated that the irrigated land norm, particularly in the Harran region, will yield the incomes claimed by the law.

Main Confrontation to Begin Now

A former administrator in the Land and Agricultural Reform Directorate General told the CUMHURİYET correspondent: "The citizens' hopes on land reform have been dashed. Since 1980, large landowners have joined hands and have raised their voices, but the landless could not raise their voices." He continued:

"Some landowners left the region and moved to the cities. Now, if land is redistributed there will be a lot of quarrelling. It is now that the main confrontation will begin. Someone who has received a donum of land will be told: 'Give that away as well.' The others will return to the village from Istanbul. This is no longer possible. We made many mistakes in the old days. There was a lot of resentment during land distribution. The truth is that land reform cannot proceed in a single province. For that reason this reform was stillborn."

As a result of the establishment of larger land distribution norms a major portion of the lands nationalized in Sanliurfa will be returned to their former landowners, and consequently the amount of land to be distributed to the landless will decrease. Furthermore, since the distribution of land that will be irrigated by the Sanliurfa Tunnel has been postponed to 1992, most of those who have applied for land will not have their requests approved.

In May 1975, at the beginning of the land reform program, around 76,000 petitions were received for land from farmers with little or no land. Surprised by the number of petitions, the officials disqualified some of the petitioners and reduced the number of applicants to 25,000. Of these 25,000 qualified applicants, only 5 percent had their petitions approved, and as a result 1,176 families were given land. On the basis of these figures given by the Land and Agricultural Reform Directorate General, it is estimated that only 20 percent of those who apply for land at this time will have their petitions approved. This will happen because the amount of nationalized lands will decrease and the rising population will increase the demand for land.

It is also feared that the inadequacy of the amount of land to be distributed coupled with the desire of large landowners who have moved away from villages to return to their villages may lead to major conflicts. In the Harran region of Sanliurfa where some lands were nationalized, some large landowners who had ties with cities and who were known as "urban" reduced their ties with the village to a minimum after their lands were nationalized. Large farmers in this group want to avoid returning to their villages by getting the highest possible price for their lands.

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ECONOMIC REFORM PACKAGE FOR TRNC DETAILED

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 5 Jul 86 pp 1,7

[Text] Prime Minister Turgut Ozal returned to Ankara yesterday after completing his 3-day trip to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC]. Ozal said that TRNC must work to set its economy on strong foundations. Stating that as in any democratic regime there may be those who may oppose what is wanted to be done in Cyprus, Ozal said that he supports the economic development of entire Cyprus. Ozal added that economic plans will be discussed at the technical level and will take their final form in 10 to 15 days. The Prime Minister flew from Ankara to Istanbul at 9:00 pm yesterday. Today, Ozal will begin a tour of the provinces of Tekirdag, Kirklareli, Edirne, Eskisehir and Bursa.

Turkish Union of Chambers President Ali Coskun, who returned to Istanbul yesterday with Ozal after accompanying him on his visit to TRNC, said in his statement to DUNYA that the visit has added a new dimension to relations [between Turkey and TRNC].

Coskun said in his statement that the victory won by the peace operation in Cyprus must be complemented by an economic victory. Coskun continued: "This visit has encouraged Cypriot and Turkish businessmen. Work is under way on a new economic package which embodies financial arrangements. Investment incentives that will be provided will enable Turkish businessmen to invest in Cyprus, and these investments will constitute a new step in the economic life of Cyprus."

Stating that the geographical structure of Cyprus dictates an island economy, Coskun said that only 25 percent of the hotel bed capacity is used in Cyprus' tourism sector. Noting that these empty beds may provide inexpensive vacation opportunities for Turkish tourists, Coskun said that the beds that will thus be vacated in Turkey's southern shores may be offered to foreign tourists.

Stating that a lively economic life may begin in TRNC with investments into light industries and the development of trade, Coskun added that TRNC will not accomplish anything with outside assistance and that Cyprus must have a self-sufficient and balanced economy of its own.

Prime Minister's Economic Package for TRNC

The economic stability program Prime Minister Ozal proposed to TRNC officials during his 3-day visit embodies the same characteristics as the stability measures that began to be implemented in Turkey on 24 January 1980 and identifies the trade and tourism sectors as the driving engines of the stability program.

In view of the small scale of the economic potential in TRNC and the climatic and geographical characteristics of the country, tourism and trade were selected as the sectors to lead the rejuvenation of TRNC's economy in the economic program proposed for TRNC.

If the economic program proposed by Prime Minister Ozal for TRNC is endorsed and implemented by the administration of that country, a series of economic measures will be taken. Within the framework of these measures, imports will be liberalized on a broader basis, and the importation of goods will be made easier by the reduction of import duties. Within the framework of the same program, interest rates on savings deposits will be increased to concentrate savings in the banking system and to cut consumption. There will also be changes in the monetary policy of TRNC in order to cut the inflation rate which is currently running at over 40 percent.

The proposed economic program for TRNC envisages the use of taxes to encourage investments, as was done in Turkey. In the event the program is endorsed, it is envisaged to encourage foreign investment in TRNC with new laws which will reorganize current legislation on foreign investments.

One of the most important elements of the economic package, which is opposed by the Communal Liberation Party and the Republican Turkish Party—both of which are partners in TRNC's coalition government—is the establishment of a free trade zone in TRNC. The purpose of this free trade zone is to provide an economic base for firms exporting and marketing goods in Middle Eastern countries.

If the free trade zone plan is implemented, it is expected to help the development of the service sector and the tourism sector.

One of the most important aspects of Ozal's visit to the TRNC was the political guarantees he gave for investments to be made by Turkish businessmen in northern Cyprus. Ozal gave this assurance by saying: "The United States gives guarantees to American businessmen investing in Turkey; I am prepared to give an identical guarantee to Turkish businessmen."

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CSO: 3554/140

MUMCU URGES TRNC TO CHOOSE ITS OWN ECONOMIC MODEL

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 5 Jul 86 pp 1,15

["Observation" column by Ugur Mumcu: "Carried Water"]

[Text] Ozal's economy can be described by the old saying: "A mill cannot turn with carried water." The "carried water" in this case is foreign assistance. If foreign assistance is cut, Ozal's economy goes bankrupt.

For the moment, this "carried-water economy" has a chance. That chance is the decline in the price of oil. If a "petroleum shock" similar to the one in 1974 is experienced today, the Ozal economy will collapse in two days.

Ozal does not have a unique liberal economic model of his own. His model is made up of IMF recipes. What is implemented is what IMF says. There is no original model to speak of.

The IMF has made its loans conditional on privatization. Ozal is trying to implement this privatization proposal. This privatization is now being carried from the motherland to the "baby motherland."

Ozal is trying to implement in the "baby motherland" the terms that the IMF made him accept. The terms are the same:

"Assistance is conditional on privatization."

The IMF recipes are aimed at integrating Turkey's economy with world capitalism. Ozal, in his turn, is planning to include the "baby motherland" in this integration process.

This "economic model" brings with it a "political model." The "political model" is framed by a constitution which excludes the left.

For the moment, the political regime in Cyprus is more liberal than the one in Turkey.

One of the inevitable results of Ozal's model will be the restriction of workers' rights in Cyprus. This would be a natural outcome. Ozal's privatization is unavoidably tied to this condition.

Is there no other alternative in Cyprus?

If Cyprus is a "state" on its own, then there are other alternatives. There are and there must be other alternatives. The people of Cyprus must choose their own economic and political models. There can be no arm-twisting of the type "I am helping you, so you must endorse my economic model."

Such arm-twisting would put the state of Cyprus in the position of a "metropolitan municipality." No one has the right to put Cyprus in that situation.

Ozal's economic model has dragged the low-income citizens of Turkey into severe problems. It has now become evident that the "abundance of foreign exchange" that was boasted of daily was temporary. Declines in "real wages" have assumed terrifying proportions.

Can the economy of TRNC be tied to a model whose future is so much in doubt?

Cyprus continues to be a sensitive political issue. The Aegean and Cyprus are the major problems between Greece and Turkey. The start of domestic terror in Turkey after the "Cyprus Peace Operation" is no longer considered a "coincidence." The term "coincidence" also does not explain adequately the intensification of Armenian terrorism during the same years. The simultaneous staging of countrywide terrorism appearing to come from the right and the left, ethnic-oriented terrorism in the southeastern part of our country and Armenian terrorism abroad right after the "Cyprus Peace Operation" indicates that the "Cyprus problem" is not limited to "Cyprus."

The plan to implement the "IMF-patented model" in Cyprus despite the sensitivity of the issue may lead to crises, tensions and problems on the island.

The "destabilization" which was initiated by the terrorist incidents that began in this country immediately after the "Cyprus Peace Operation" continued with the American "arms embargo," the linking of foreign assistance to "permission for U-2 spy plane flights" and the cutoff of foreign assistance following the Ecevit government's inability to say "yes" to that demand.

As a result of this "destabilization" which was begun with the Cyprus events, Turkey began to be ruled by a regime which implemented the IMF model to the letter and which is politically tightly shut to the left.

Before the Cyprus Peace Operation, there was a liberal regime in Turkey, while the "colonels' junta" ruled in Greece.

Since then, the situation has changed. In today's Turkey, there is a regime which is closed to the left and which is not at all "liberal," while in Greece a fully "pluralist democracy" is in effect.

When we say "Cyprus," "the Aegean" or "the return of Greece to NATO" we must think a thousand times before we take a single step.

We have suffered enough from this model. Let the people of Cyprus find their own model.

GREENPEACE CAMPAIGN AGAINST WHALING, SEALING HITS ECONOMY

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Bengt Jonsson: "Greenpeace Not Popular In Greenland: Greenland Hunters Hit Hard By Campaign Against Canada"]

[Text] Nuuk/Ilulissat--There are two things that make Greenlanders see red, namely Greenpeace and the International Whaling Commission (IWC).

Most West Europeans regard these environmental organizations with a good deal of sympathy, but in Greenland they regard them as threats to the country's economy as well as to its ancient hunting culture.

Greenpeace's successful actions opposing the slaughter of seal pups on the ice off Canada has hit the sales of Greenlandic seal skins hard. Prices have plunged to less than one-fifth of what they were 10 years ago. From 1974 to 1976 prices at seal skin auctions fluctuated between 200 and 258 Danish kroner. In 1984 the auction price was around 40 Danish kroner.

Greenlanders are very disturbed to find themselves hit so hard by a campaign which from the beginning was not at all directed at them. Greenpeace wanted to halt the cruel clubbing of new-born seal pups, which only happens in Canada, and did not imagine that this could threaten the wa of life of a number of small Greenlandic hunting communities.

Dependent on Seal Hunting

Approximately 25 percent of Greenland's population, especially those living in small towns in the north and along the east coast, are wholly dependent on seal hunting. Seals provide meat for humans, just as they provide material for boots, articles of clothing, and dog harnesses. But hunters also have to buy a whole range of necessities for the household, and they used to get the money for this from selling seal skins.

After Greenpeace's successful campaigns against the seal skin trade, it is very difficult to dispose of skins, and, as has been mentioned, prices are very poor.

Market Ruined

"The anti-seal skin campaign in Europe has completely ruined the market and has destroyed the economy for many Greenlandic families. It will be difficult to repair the damage Greenpeace caused us," said Sivso Dorph, a trade and industry consultant in Ilulissat.

"Seal hunting has been our way of life since time immemorial. It takes a lot of work to prepare a seal skin and if you look at the number of hours of work that go into it, the remuneration was already small before prices dropped."

Sivso Dorph is also uneasy over the fact that the seal population has increased so rapidly in recent years. That has led to problems for Greenlandic fishermen. On the one hand there has been greater competition for cod, salmon and other varieties of fish and on the other hand the nets are destroyed by the seals. Dorph's unease is shared by Nikolaj Heinrich, the head of KNAPK, the organization of Greenlandic fishermen and hunters.

"Catch Too Small"

"At present approximately 70,000 seals per year are caught off Greenland's coast and this is way below the increase. The catch needs to be increased, but with today's rock bottom prices, seal hunting is not profitable," Nikolaj Heinrich explained.

"Greenpeace's drives against seal skins in the European countries which used to buy them turned into a catastrophe for communities that live off of seal hunting. The worst thing is that demonstrators frequently couldn't tell the difference between the skin of seal pups and adult seals. We hunt only adult seals, and we do it more humanely. Clubbing seal pups is a hunting method we cannot accept."

"If Greenpeace is to make up for the damage they have caused us, they must publicly recommend the hunting of more adult seals. In general we have nothing against Greenpeace's work. On the contrary, they have done a lot of good things for the environment. We do not see Greenpeace as an enemy. We have opposing views, but we want to meet them to see if we can possibly sit down and talk."

No Reply

Nikolaj Heinrich stated that KNAPK has invited Greenpeace to Greenland several times but has not received any reply. Heinrich is very diplomatic when he discusses Greenpeace and the IWC. (He regards the IWC's quota on Greenlandic whalers as being too small, but says that there is no thought of hunting more whales than the number recommended by the Whaling Commission.)

Greenlandic politicians talk a good deal less diplomatically. Jonathan Motzfeldt heads up the executive committee, which is the equivalent of being the prime minister of Greenland, and he minces no words when discussion comes around to Greenpeace. "The so-called environmental organization," he calls it,

and says indignantly that Greenpeace conducted its campaign against seal hunting without knowing anything about the way of life of Greenlandic hunting families.

"Cultural Imperialists"

Other Greenlandic politicians regard Greenpeace as a bunch of cultural imperialists totally lacking in any understanding of the ancient Greenlandic hunting culture. The answer to a question as to whether there were any environmental organizations in Greenland was "we are all environmental activists."

For centuries and millennia Greenlanders have lived in harmony with an extremely harsh environment and they have eked out what they could. Greenlanders have not engaged in commercial whale hunting with big factory ships, decimating the whale population, a number of European states have. This is why many are so distressed when strangers who know nothing about their hunting methods and life style come to teach them something about environmental protection. (The reaction would certainly be as violent if some foreign organization were to stop elk hunting in Sweden.)

Relations between Greenlanders and Greenpeace have been made significantly more difficult owing to misunderstanding and communications problems. Last year some Greenpeace representatives visited Greenland and in several places they were met by demonstrators. Greenpeace has admitted that some of its informational material about seal hunting contained errors and that that affected innocent Greenlanders.

"Not Just Our Fault"

"We have never been opposed to Greenlandic seal hunters selling skins in order to get money," Birgit Seffmark of Danish Greenpeace said. "We don't want to wipe out the basis of life for those Greenlanders who live by seal hunting. The big drop in price for seal skins is not just Greenpeace's fault or doing. General market mechanisms such as competition from other types of skins and synthetic materials played a role as well."

There appears to be agreement within Greenpeace about the right of Greenland's indigenous population to exist and go hunting according to age-old traditions. But on the issue of the sale of seal skins abroad there are opposing reports. One group thinks that seal products should only be consumed and used within Greenland.

Survival Issue

For Greenpeace, the whole problem of seal skin is a very small issue which is an annoying one which diverts time and energy away from more important tasks. But for many Greenlanders the issue is whether they can survive in their small hunting communities.

In order to rebuild the devastated seal skin industry, Greenland's executive committee will now invest 30 million Danish kroner. The money will be used for a new tannery and a new plant to produce better-designed pelts from seal skin. They also hope that opposition to buying seal skin pelts which had grown up will cease as soon as better information about the conditions of Greenlandic seal hunting is distributed.

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CSO: 3650/276

BRIEFS

INFLATION STATISTICS RISE--According to Statistical Service data "official" inflation remained at 24-25 percent for the seventh consecutive month. In July, the consumer price indicator showed an increase of 24.6 percent compared with July 1985, thus making the government's desired target of 16 percent inflation in December more unlikely. Given the fact that right after August new increases for all kinds of products and services can be expected, following rate increases by DEI [Public Power Corporation], OTE [Greek Telecommunications Organization], etc., it is evident that inflation will be rekindled rather than slowed down as hoped by the Ministry of National Economy. Characteristic of persistence in inflation at levels much higher than the official 19 percent in 1985 is that in the 7-month period January-July it reached an average 24.6 percent, while during the same period of last year and the year before it was much lower: 17.7 and 18.7 percent respectively. The general consumer price index for July (that compensates for the above-mentioned increases with possible decreases in other sectors of the market) showed a 0.5 percent drop compared with June 1986. In reality, even this drop constitutes a negative trend since last year the drop between June and July 1985 was greater: 0.7 percent.

/Text/ /Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 12 Aug 86 p 13/ 5671

CSO: 3521/242

CREDIT OBTAINED WITHOUT STATE GUARANTEE

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 26 Jun 86 p 7

[Text] The largest credit ever without a state guarantee came from EXIM Bank. EXIM Bank, a leading U.S. bank, said "yes" in principle to the credit, which will not be guaranteed by the state, for a thermal power plant to be built in Tekirdag. SPO [State Planning Organization] Foreign Capital Office Chief Namik Kemal Kilic announced that the agreement on the credit will be signed in the next few days.

Obtaining the \$400 million in foreign credit without a state guarantee for the Tekirdag power plant, which will cost approximately \$1 billion (700 billion liras), is being described as an important indicator of Turkey's foreign credit standing. According to the SPO Foreign Capital Office announcement, the plant will be built by a consortium composed of the U.S. firm Bechtel Combustion Engineering and the German KWU, along with British Shell and the Turkish Electric Power Enterprise (TEK). The Bechtel firm, moreover, plans to obtain \$250 million credit and to use \$50 million operating capital.

According to information provided by Namik Kemal Kilic, the \$400 million credit provided by EXIM Bank without a state guarantee is a model for a developing nation. The giant power plant, to be built on the "build-operate-turn over" formula, will have 980 megawatts power. The plant will operate on imported coal, for which 2 million tons of coal a year will be imported. The imported coal will reportedly come primarily from Australia as well as South Africa.

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CSO: 3554/135

TURK-IS LEADER DECLARES OPPOSITION TO PRIVATIZATION

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 6 Jul 86 p 3

[Text] Ankara—Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor] leader Sevkettin Yilmaz declared that he opposes the privatization of State Economic Enterprises [SEEs] because that would lead to "worker layoffs." Charging that such an implementation would weaken job security in the SEEs and that the principle of "equal pay for equal work" would be seriously impaired, Yilmaz said: "If workers are laid off through privatization we will not be responsible. It is the government that will be responsible."

In response to a question, Yilmaz asked: "Can there be job security if the boss is changed?" He continued:

"If workers will be laid off through this implementation and if workers will lose their jobs depending on who the new boss will be as a result of the privatization of the SEEs, then we will not be responsible for the new unrest that will ensue. Those who are doing this, those who are privatizing the SEEs and those who are harming social peace through the use of contract employment must think carefully about the resentment they will cause in the community."

Weak Social Spirit

Stating that the primary goal of such implementations is to force workers out of unions and that there is a weak social spirit because the purpose of contract employment is nonunionization, Yilmaz said:

"There are two major drawbacks to the practice of contract personnel employment in the SEEs and other public corporations. Firstly, an employee who is hired on such a basis will never have job security no matter how competent he is in his job. His job security would be weak. Because his success and fate would be at the mercy of a subjective and politically motivated ideology. If the fear that a worker may fail unless he pleases his employer becomes the most prominent feature of this practice, then there will be neither competence nor job security. The second drawback is that in such a system certain personnel will often be treated preferentially. By paying very high rates for certain jobs compared what those jobs would be paid in a hierarchical personnel system, the principle of equal pay for equal work will be harmed and dualism will be established. People who work on this basis will

naturally be nonunion personnel and thus they will be deprived of union rights. It is a fact that the practice of contract personnel employment exists in virtually all public corporations for some exceptional types of labor. However, turning this exceptional practice into a broad system on the basis of some flimsy reasons will cut productivity and efficiency, and worker competence will be affected adversely."

Meanwhile it is planned to raise the number of members of the Turk-Is General Administrative Council from five to seven. If membership of the council is expanded two deputy leadership positions will be created.

9588

CSO: 3554/141

LACK OF TURKISH INPUT IN PRIVATIZATION OF SEES CRITICIZED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 14 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by Dr Nezih H. Neyzi: "We Find It Insulting"]

[Text] We find it insulting. Meetings are held in Ankara, and foreigners decree how we should sell the State Economic Enterprises [SEEs]. Why was this necessary?

Work on the reorganization of the SEEs has been carried out for many years. Experts from universities took part in these studies. Many of them later became ministers. For example, Mustafa Aysan became the Minister of Transportation and headed several SEEs. He wrote several books of over 400 pages including one entitled "State Economic Enterprises in Turkey and the World" with Selahattin Ozmen. (Footnote 1) (a. Professor Mustafa Aysan and Selahattin Ozmen, "State Economic Enterprises in Turkey and the World," Kardesler Publishing House, 1981; b. Mustafa Aysan, "The Reorganization of State Economic Enterprises, Sermet Printers, Istanbul, 1978)

The Ministry of Finance annually publishes a book entitled "State Economic Enterprises and Partnerships Annual" which covers all SEEs and examines their good and bad aspects. You can find about the state of 234 operational SEEs and 12 liquidated SEEs in these annuals. Who knows how many finance experts put in uncounted hours of work to prepare this 534-page manual? (Footnote 2) (Ministry of Finance, Secretariat General of the Treasury and MIIT [International Economic Cooperation Organization] Secretariat General, Ankara; Treasury and MIIT Secretary General with a preface by Nazif Kocayusufpasaoglu, Ankara, 1981)

In addition, the governments of large provinces publish reports detailing their relations and problems with SEEs. (Footnote 3) (Province of Istanbul Planning and Investment Directorate General Publications, "General Problems of the Province of Istanbul, 1980." This book was prepared by Istanbul's Deputy Governor, Utku Acun, at the instructions of Istanbul Governor Nevzat Ayaz; published by the Provincial Special Administration.)

Page 61 of the Finance Audit Council's Report No. 1979/215 begins with the phrase: "The growth of SEE personnel to a level far above what is needed..." The same page details the growth of personnel over the years: The number of SEE employees rose from 362,300 in 1970 to 706,355 in 1978.

Finance Audit Council's Work

This valuable work by the Finance Audit Council revealed the painful state of the SEEs as early as 1978. Personnel expenses rose rapidly between 1974 and 1978; production, on the other hand, did not rise that rapidly and investments slowed down. Here is a summary of this situation in numbers: Personnel expenses grew from 19 million Turkish liras in 1974 to 95.5 million Turkish liras in 1978. During the same period, production rose from 57 million Turkish liras to 194 Turkish liras and investments increased from 16 million Turkish liras to 60 million Turkish liras.

The SEEs' low capacity utilization rate was exposed every year in the reports of the Finance Audit Council. For example, the decline of capacity utilization in Sumerbank between 1977 and 1978 is expressed on page 73 of the same report:

Sumerbank Capacity Utilization (percent)

Item	1977	1978
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Cotton yarn	75.5	47.4
Cotton fabric	79.3	81.0
Machine-woven rugs	58.4	51.7
Shoes	70.1	11.7

The lack of coordination and control in the SEEs has been clearly exposed in annual audit council reports since the time of the late Muhlis Ete. Now we are giving all this data to a company called Morgan Guaranty, and they are telling us about the state of the SEEs. In conclusion, they are proposing that some of the SEEs be sold and that some of them be held by the government because they are performing public service. In the past, experts were brought from the OECD to improve the operation of the SEEs and studies were conducted for many years in Ankara. These reports are stored on the bookshelves of every SEE. The Finance Audit Council reports are written every year. The SEEs are audited every year when the budget is being debated, and they are either cleared of any wrongdoing or their administrators are investigated.

When the private sector encounters hardships, it turns to the SEEs to seek help. The latest example is Asil Celik. This investment, which put the Koc Holding Company in a difficult position, became a SEE after being turned over to the Agricultural Bank and the Machine and Chemical Industry Establishment.

In general, the converse of this transaction has occurred in our economic history. When the State Monopolies Directorate General freed the the match manufacturing industry, Koc and Tekfen built match factories thus forming a powerful oligopoly of three. The private sector has been working with the SEEs hand in hand in the cement industry as well. The private sector entered the cement and fertilizer businesses using government loans. At times, these factories found themselves in difficult situations because of mistakes made in the building of these factories, but thanks to the pricing policies of the government and the Iran-Iraq war their difficulties have been left behind.

Banking Sector

In the banking sector, government-owned and private banks are now accompanied by foreign banks. In a single year the foreign banks earned more profits than their investments. The figures below show how the foreign banks operated like a suction pump:

According to a report published in the June 1986 edition of the journal BANKING, Mellat, an Iranian bank, earned 3.4 billion Turkish liras in 1985 with a capital of 2.2 billion Turkish liras, thus realizing a return of 152 percent. Similarly, the American Express earned 7.3 billion Turkish liras with a capital of 6.2 billion Turkish liras. Citibank realized a return of 100 percent by earning 2.6 billion Turkish liras with a capital of 2.6 billion Turkish liras.

As indicated by the figures above, the Iranian bank, Mellat, made more profit in one year than its entire capital. It is almost as if Turkey is partly financing Iran's war with Iraq.

Conclusion

We watched the experts from Morgan Guaranty on television. Such experts go to developing countries and prepare reports without understanding the social structure in those countries. Today, our experts work in the World Bank, the OECD, the FAO, the ILO and the UN. In fact, some of these have completed 30 years of service in these organizations and have retired to Turkey. Other specialists who have served as ministers or directors general in the past have also served in administrative positions in these foreign organizations. Many valuable Turkish administrators, such as Atilla Karaosmanoglu, Oktay Yenil, Munir Bencenk, Ustun Ustundag, Basri Danisman and Haluk Ozbudun, are either currently working in these organizations or have retired after working with them.

It is not befitting to us to act on the SEEs, which have made major economic and social contributions to this country, on the basis of the views of experts from a foreign company like the Morgan Guaranty Bank.

The individuals who have served as administrators in all these organizations have much to say on this issue. The spouses and children of the 800,000 people who are employed by the SEEs add up to 4 million people. Giving away figures and data on such a crucial matter to a foreign firm is a very erroneous move. We are particularly insulted when they evaluate our labor system and the future of the industrial and service organizations we have built.

9588

CSO: 3554/144

MINISTER DETAILS AGRICULTURAL GOALS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 5 Jul 86 p 3

[Report by Emin Pazarci]

[Text] Ankara—Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Village Affairs Husnu Dogan detailed the long-term work that needs to be carried out in Turkey's agriculture and gave an "agricultural inventory" of Turkey in the year 2000. Stating that in 2000 Turkey's agricultural production will be four times the current output, Dogan said: "By that time there will be no problems left in the domestic market. At worst, there may be some problems with regard to exports." Noting that there can be no agriculture without subsidies, Dogan said: "We will continue subsidizing the farmers."

Promising a "greener Turkey" to the Turkish nation by the year 2000, Dogan said that Turkish foresters have so far remained on Turkey's outer edges and that "the time has come to expand forests into Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia." Stating that by the year 2000 Turkey's wheat production will exceed 25 million metric tons [per year] and that its corn production will rise from its current level of 1.9 million to over 10 million metric tons [per year], Dogan said that soybeans will also become a major farming product.

Policy to be Pursued

Expressing the hope that "the Motherland Party government will remain office until that time," Dogan said: "We will not abandon irrigation projects as long as we are in office. The Southeast Anatolia Project is the most evident example of that policy. We are planning to emphasize the issue of reclamation and drainage and to develop the livestock industry."

Main Issue

Stating that the main issue in Turkey "is the establishment of optimal size land plots and not distributing land to everyone," Dogan said: "I have calculated what will happen if we distribute all the irrigated and dry land in Turkey by the norms we announced in Sanliurfa." He continued:

"Today, there are 3,600,000 businesses which are involved in agriculture in Turkey. There is not enough arable land to be distributed to everyone in

Turkey. Everyone in the world accepts and I believe ideologically that family farming businesses with optimal size land plots—that is neither too large nor too small plots—are the most efficient farming enterprises."

Responding to charges that the farmers are in a difficult position and that they are selling their tractors, Dogan said that today there are 530,000 tractors in Turkey. He added:

"This figure is not small compared to the area of land farmed in Turkey. When buying tractors, the farmers are acting without thinking—as they did in the past. They are saying that the farmers are selling their tractors. When a tractor is sold, taxi drivers will not buy it; another farmer will buy it, and thus the area of land farmed will not decrease."

9588

CSO: 3554/141

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION IN IZMIR, MUGLA, CANKIRI

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 26 Jun 86 p 9

[Text] Ankara (DUNYA) - Substructure and surface work for roads in various locations in Izmir, Mugla and Cankiri Provinces has been advertised for bids at an estimated cost of 5 billion liras.

In the notice posted by the Highways General Directorate, the work in Izmir Province is for "leveling, trade structures and surface structure" on various segments of the Seferhisar-Gumuldur-Kusadası Road at an estimated cost of 1.19 billion liras. Firms with (B) group contracting certification wishing to tender bids must apply by 7 July 1986 and get an eligibility certificate for the contract which will be awarded on 11 July 1986.

In Mugla Province, the contract includes leveling, trade structures and surface structure for the planned construction of various segments of the Marmaris tourist road at an estimated cost of 3.721 billion liras. In order to participate in the contract, to be awarded on 14 July 1986, firms with (A) group contracting certification must apply to the Highways General Directorate and receive an eligibility certificate by 8 July 1986.

Meanwhile, the work in Cankiri Province is for road, sidewalk, bank and berm paving with prefabricated concrete paving components for the Cankiri city bypass and the Caycuma-Hisarönü Road in the provincial road network at an estimated cost of 245 million liras. Bidders must apply to the Highways General Directorate by 7 July 1986 to obtain documentation for the contract to be awarded on 16 July 1986. Firms applying for this contract must have (B) group certification.

8349

CSO: 3554/135

BELGIAN AIR FORCE SAID INTERESTED IN RAFALE

Paris LA TRIBUNE DE L'ECONOMIE in French 26 Jul 86 p 11

[Text] Lt Gen Jacques Lefebvre, the chief of the general staff of the Belgian Air Force, came out publicly for the first time Friday in favor of the French Rafale twin-engine jet to replace the Mirage and F-16 aircraft used by the Belgian Army toward the year 2000.

"Nothing has been decided to date, but it appears that the Rafale, which it seems will be converted to a plane at least 1 ton lighter than the demonstration prototype, meets the requirements for the fighter plane the Air Force needs quite well," General Lefebvre said in a statement to the Brussels newspaper LE SOIR.

"The Belgian Air Force is in touch with the French Air Force, which needs a plane meeting the same requirements," he added, indicating that "a protocol might be drafted and signed sometime next year."

General Lefebvre urged a rapid commitment by Belgium to the French program to the extent of about 10 percent, so that it can become a partner at the very start rather than being required to "climb on the bandwagon...with the undesirable concomitant of being satisfied on the industrial level with the compensation they see fit to give us."

In recent months, the French Dassault firm has stepped up talks with Belgian industrialists and military representatives, receiving favorable treatment from them. The two main Belgian aircraft manufacturers, SABCA and SONACA, have decided to coordinate their programs, while the Herstal National Factory has indicated interest in participating in the manufacture of the French SNECMA M-88 engine.

This engine will eventually serve to equip the Rafale aircraft, although the current prototype has American General Electric 404 engines.

Belgium has a fleet of 144 combat aircraft, a half of which are French Mirage planes, while the balance are American F-16s.

5157
CSO:3519/233

DETAILS OF RAFALE TEST FLIGHTS REPORTED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 24 Jul 86 p 7

[Article by Pierre Darcourt]

[Text] A press conference was held yesterday at the Champs Elysees traffic circle by Serge Dassault, aided by his "general staff," to provide an evaluation of and update on the performance of the experimental prototype of the Rafale 3 weeks after its first flight last 4 July. The status of this airplane is exceptional. The advanced stage of testing after seven other flights confirms the full success of this future combat aircraft. "General operation," Mr Revellin-Falcoz, general technical director (he is the man who, with his team of engineers, designed and produced the Rafale), emphasized, "has been excellent. On all 900 parameters established for equipment installation, operation was satisfactory, beginning with the very first flight."

The subsequent flights were devoted to a gradual increase in flight range, airspeed, altitude, indicated speed, load factor and angle. This testing was systematic in nature, including studies on structural damping, stability control for the flight loops, identification of factors in flight, operation, and performance of the various circuits and of the plane, including tests at low speed.

During the sixth flight on 7 July, the plane reached Mach 1.8 at an altitude of 42,000 feet, with a load factor of 8G subsonic and 6G supersonic (with 1G being equal to the weight of the body, the pilot "takes" 8-6 times this weight). Full banking rolls were executed.

In addition, the twin-engine plane's engine was purposely cut in flight and then started again. Single-engine approaches were tested, and flight command instruments were used in certain emergency procedures. In supersonic flight, the operational margins of air intake were studied up to Mach 1.8, with tests in particular on major reductions in the air flow on an engine.

In Use by 1996

Dark, spare and long of limb, the chief test pilot, Guy Mitaux-Maurouard, who flew the Rafale on all the flights, commented briefly on a 10-minute film of

the new "Dassault miracle bird." "Here it is being pushed out of the hanger, and then a great blue vehicle took it in tow. After that everything went very quickly, because the taxi and takeoff procedures had been perfectly practiced and are very simple. The engines run like clocks."

The plane was aligned on the southern runway. Everything was fine in the monitoring room--the kind of mini-command post used for launching an Ariane.

The brakes were put under pressure, and then released almost immediately, because the thrust causes the plane to "skid" on its tires. The aircraft accelerated powerfully, despite the heat (34 degrees on the runway). It took off and was airborne less than 15 seconds after the brakes were released.

The picture was superb, with the plane sharp and thrusting like a glittering lance point. The Rafale was on its way. "The holographic viewfinder provides cinemascopic information on the flight. The visibility, ease with which the pilot can maintain high acceleration, the comfort of the cockpit--all of this is new, futuristic and majestic," Guy Mitaux-Maurouard said.

The takeoff, retraction of landing gear at 5,000 feet, sharp ascent to 36,000 feet and minor maneuvers demonstrated the flexibility and sensitivity of the Rafale, which obeyed its pilot perfectly. "Everything proceeded as described in the textbooks" and as experienced on the simulator. There were no surprises. The descent in the total comfort of the inclined seat, the two lower speeds, the lowering of the landing gear and the landing were almost child's play.

The operational version under study will weigh 8.5 tons empty and will have a load capacity of 6 tons, with 11 anchor points.

Serge Dassault estimates the potential market for the Rafale at a minimum of 1,000 planes, but he does not hesitate to say that he hopes to sell three times that by 1996, the year this combat aircraft, which represents a veritable "technological leap forward," will go into service. This was all made possible thanks to the use of new composite materials, including Kevlar and carbon fibers and an alloy of aluminum and lithium, as well as the digital electric flight commands which "absorb" turbulence, and thanks above all to the exceptional excellence of the engineers gathered together in the design department by Marcel Dassault, the last French aircraft king, who died without having seen his last masterpiece take to the air.

5157

CSO:3519/233

EFFECTS OF BUDGET CUTS ON MILITARY PROJECTS REVIEWED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 1 Aug 86 p 8

[Article by Pierre Darcourt]

[Text] In the coming days, important decisions which will affect the entire future of our defense will be made.

In the budget sector, after a harsh struggle with the minister of finance, Andre Giraud won out by a narrow margin, thanks to the personal intervention of the prime minister. The defense budget will no longer be the 4 percent of the PIBM promised in the RPR-UDF platform during the election campaign, but it is not merely a reworking of the 1986 Hernu budget as foreseen on the Rue de Rivoli, either. With the hard-won 3.80 percent allocation, this 1987 budget will indeed be insufficient. In order to recover somewhat from the catastrophic lag which has been accumulating for 5 years, the budget would have had to be increased by almost 200 percent (30 billion francs).

The approximately 11 billion in supplementary credit will go mainly to Title 5 in the budget, in other words to investments and equipment orders, while the operational expenditures of the departments will be drastically reduced. The branches of the armed forces will have to tighten their belts in order to pay for the modern equipment of the year 2000. Since, fortunately, the minister of defense does not want to limit troop strength further, as Charles Hernu did, ways to effect savings will have to be found. And there is hardly any means of doing so other than reducing operational allocations (limiting fuel consumption, freezing military pay, and lowering the standard of living in the armed forces branches). It will also be necessary to step up the effort already undertaken in this sector to introduce modern methods of management and cost accounting.

Unfortunately, even in this instance, there are no plans to do anything about the confusion and waste in the arsenals and military enterprises, half of which need to be shut down. Brest and Toulon would more than suffice as naval dockyards. But there are trade-union pressure groups, and therefore the level of rigor will not be as high as it appears.

The second great problem of the summer will be the painful process of drafting the next military planning law.

In view of the cumulative lag and the sad situation inherited from the socialists, the government will have to make dramatic choices in order to safeguard the future of our defense. What choices? When one cannot do everything, one must choose what is vital. In other words, the maintenance of absolute priority for our nuclear deterrent force in view of the strengthening of the adverse defenses. To do this we must "toughen" our missiles arsenal and strengthen our nuclear submarine fleet, which are the basic guarantees of our independence, as well as choosing a new land component, in other words a somewhat lighter mobile missile of the SX type, or a cruise missile to replace the much too vulnerable Albion platform.

No Neutron Bomb

France must be equipped with this new system of nuclear weapons in order to complete our atomic range and to avoid putting all our eggs in one basket by limiting ourselves to our six missile-launching nuclear submarines (SNLE). In the years 1992-95, this SX-type missile will fill a very important gap between tactical nuclear weapons and the apocalyptic salvos of our strategic submarines. There can be no question, on the other hand, of the mass production of a more powerful radiation, that is to say neutron, bomb, the weapon the Soviets fear the most.

What about the combat helicopter and the tank of the future? These are still in the discussion stage and a compromise is being sought with Bonn with a view to joint construction, which is still uncertain. It will indeed be necessary to plan some credit allocations for the launching of this new future combat plane--the Rafale, and for the purchase of the AWAC spotter plane the Air Force has been demanding for years. Finally, after much hesitation, approval has been obtained for the future nuclear aircraft carrier, which, with its twin necessity--the airplanes, advanced electronics and the auxiliary vessels needed--will represent the mere sum of more than 30 billion centimes. Not a word has been said about the Helios satellite or the long-range troop-transport plane needed for our overseas operations. Because of the exorbitant prices of new equipment, such seem to be the current limits of the current French budget potential. Taking into account the vicissitudes experienced by the earlier budget laws, and given the uncertainties about the future, should we plunge into a new military budget law which will inevitably involve the details of equipment plans covering several years?

Would it not be desirable, rather than keeping our eyes fixed on the development of the percentage of the PIBM, to take up the basic problem of our defense as a whole, once and for all? This defense sector has requirements which constitute the guarantees of the nation's survival. These requirements, with figures clearly attached, represent the price to be paid for the credibility of this sector.

Failing this, the next military budget law is in danger of coming up against ever more painful and tragic choices. The government, unable to respond to all the requirements of the moment at once, has barely a few weeks in which to choose the weapons of tomorrow, and it must not make a mistake, since any error would be fatal.

The Classic Forces

In terms of deterrent forces, it must be remembered that all nuclear forces are meaningless unless the government has the time to make aggressive action obvious. In other words, a short-term, localized attack must not be confused with a widespread offensive. This implementation of the threat can only be carried out by means of substantial classic military forces. Our conventional forces, operating on the ground, have the task of winning our leaders both time and space, allowing them to pursue the consultations which are indispensable and, if necessary, to implement or step up the appropriate nuclear response.

The role of the classic forces, which is rarely discussed, also involves guaranteeing protection of the weapons in the nuclear strike force and their emplacements--protection of launching sites and airfields, ground and antiaircraft coverage. This protection can only be provided through close cooperation between the conventional forces and the Air Force. The branches of the armed forces rely on three supports--men, materiel and training. The weakening of any one of these components puts the efficacy of our defense in jeopardy.

5157

CSO:3519/233

DIFFICULTIES FORESEEN IN FUTURE U.S. BASE NEGOTIATIONS

Athens PONDIKI in Greek 8 Aug 86 p 6

/Text/ A predominating issue for the rest of 1986 and also for all of 1987 will be the bases issue, something that makes us particularly sensitive and careful with whatever is related to this issue. So, we have leared the following:

- First of all, the Americans have worked out a general plan for changes in the Eastern Mediterranean region that, of course, includes Greece and Turkey. It is not yet known what this plan provides for exactly --nor even if it has been completed as of this moment. However, do not rule out that at some point in 1987 you may see such an issue showing up that inevitably will be tied in with the United States' defense agreements with Greece and Turkey.

- Secondly, regardless of how openhandedly Athens and Washington are working to "smoothen out" their relations at this time, in the long run the "renegotiation" of the American bases in Greece will not be so easy. Already, even from now and despite the so impressive great and clear-cut turnabout by Andreas, some Americans are unofficially informing the Greek side at every opportunity that in case problems should arise in the new negotiations (particularly over certain of their bases, as, for example, Souda) the American Government will order their transfer to Turkey! And they leave it to be understood that something like this will also have its "repercussions" on Greek-American relations and also on the United States' relations with the "trusted ally," Turkey, since Ankara, in such a case, would raise its "stock" with the American Congress.

- What does all of this mean? It means that the Yankees have their blackmail about ready even now! Of course, the United States' idea for a transfer of their bases to Turkey is not a new one --it had been once again expressed in the past in unofficial discussions. But since military installations are not such that one may decide on their transfer whenever one may so want to, the Greek side always felt that a "transfer" was nothing other than a big "bluff."

Perhaps, however, this time matters may not be limited to the well-known "bluff" because large-scale modernization and expansion projects have begun on two U.S. bases in Turkey, namely Kars (along the frontier with the USSR) and Ikonía. Work on these two sites is not going on at present since the American-Turkish defense agreement is scheduled to be revised, an agreement that for the time being "is tied" to some political issues. However, these two bases will be able to accommodate new installations in the future once the projects have been completed!!!

As for developments on the future capabilities of these bases one must also take into account the reaction of the Soviets who, indeed, have recently had it in a lot with Turkey over the "facilities" it provides the Americans. In Moscow, the Turks recently understood (the Ozal visit) to a very large extent that the Soviets do not intend to accept an American ammunition dump on Turkish real estate located right next door to them.

Attention to the bases --they are at the heart of the political game.....

5671

CSO: 3521/242

POSSIBLE PRODUCTION CONCESSION IN SUPPORT OF OPEC

Field Would Delay Start

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Aug 86 p 33

[Article by Flemming Dahl]

[Text] "The government may order a cut in production at the Statfjord field some time this fall," according to government-circle sources.

They believe the order will come if the government decides that Norway should support OPEC's strategy of stabilizing oil prices at a higher level.

However, the same sources pointed out that, for now, it remains an open question whether the government will find it necessary to provide this support. "Nor is it certain that government support measures will be in the form of reduced Statfjord production," they said.

Another item of uncertainty with respect to Norwegian support measures is the possibility that the Harlem-Brundtland government will be replaced by a new nonsocialist government. The former government was more reluctant than this one to suggest Norwegian cooperation with OPEC.

The Ula field is scheduled to start production this fall so that an eventual cut in Statfjord production would not necessarily mean reduced total Norwegian oil production.

However, this would be in line with what the Brundtland government has intimated with respect to OPEC: That Norway on certain conditions would reduce its planned rate of growth, but not go so far as to cut its present production level.

Since the small Ula field will have a relatively low daily production, an eventual cut at Statfjord would only be some ten thousand barrels a day.

This in itself would not appreciably affect the balance between supply and demand on the oil market, but could be viewed as a symbolic gesture of Norwegian willingness to cooperate.

Such symbolic action might be welcomed by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and encourage them to live up to the strategy of cutting their own production to drive up oil prices.

It has long been assumed that the government will concentrate on the large Statfjord field--perhaps particularly on the government's Statoil share--if it should decide to give OPEC, and thereby Norway's own oil economy, a helping hand.

Yesterday, the Ministry of Oil and Energy issued a press release, which in careful and round terms described Norwegian authorities' reaction to OPEC's new strategy:

"Norwegian authorities view it as positive that OPEC has now arrived at a constructive resolution in an attempt to stabilize the oil market. There is reason to be cautiously optimistic about further market developments," according to the release.

But the ministry pointed out that there is "uncertainty with respect to OPEC's production policy longer term and what real influence the Geneva resolution will have."

The ministry said that the resolution "must be viewed as an important step toward stabilizing the market," and that the government will carefully "evaluate the present situation as well as decisions made by producing countries outside OPEC."

"We will be working to formulate a technical policy declaration in the very near future," the ministry wrote.

According to what AFTENPOSTEN has learned, "the very near future" means weeks rather than months. There is reason to believe there will be meetings between representatives of authorities in Norway and other countries outside OPEC in the next few weeks to clarify the market situation. Meetings between Norwegian and OPEC representatives cannot be ruled out either.

Paper On OPEC Ties

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Aug 86 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] The government was right in reacting positively to the resolution adopted by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC. But the government ought not speculate on its

consequences relative to production until the organization has shown it is serious about its statement. Examples of the gulf between OPEC statements and actions in the past are alarming.

The surprising OPEC statement, which is of a temporary nature, however, will mean a cut in member countries' oil production of from 20.5 million to 16.7 million barrels a day. This initiative immediately precipitated a price increase, yielding a market quotation of about 13 dollars a barrel yesterday.

A rise in oil prices is in our nation's interest. If the price were to remain at 10 dollars per barrel in the future, the national treasury would take in about 35 billion kroner in tax revenues from the oil companies this year. This would be a loss of 15 billion kroner compared to last year. But because delayed payments play a trick on us, next year's loss would be much greater. Tax revenues would only be about 8 billion kroner if the price were to remain at 10 dollars a barrel.

Therefore, the price of oil will determine this nation's economic freedom-of-action and our ability to take care of the challenges we feel are a joint responsibility. With respect to our friends and allies abroad, we can logically state that higher prices longer term will also protect their interests. With today's low prices, practically all efforts to find alternative energy sources will be brought to a halt until the oil wells run dry.

OPEC representatives have stipulated that in order to maintain continued production limits, other exporting countries must also limit their production. With some degree of justice they can now claim that the present Norwegian government has raised expectations that Norway will participate in this effort. The fact that OPEC in studying the government's conditions has found this government's policy to be not much different from that of the nonsocialist government is a loss of credibility, which Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and Oil and Energy Minister Arne Oien must shoulder. It does not help matters that this has created uncertainty among member nations of the International Energy Association, IEA, as to what Norwegian policy really is.

Considering the importance of our oil policy, both with respect to the nation's economy and the perception of Norway abroad, it is important to maintain the broad unity traditionally aspired to between the government and the opposition. This is something else the Labor Party government must take into consideration in the future. But, having said this, we would like to stress the importance of maintaining a high-level oil policy engagement. In this important matter to the nation's development, more is needed than just sitting on the fence awaiting what OPEC might do.

8952

CSO: 3639/144

THREE-YEAR OIL RESEARCH PROJECT IN BARENTS SEA TO START IN 1986

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Torill Nordeng: "Esso And SINTEF Behind Arctic Research Project"]

[Text] Esso Norge A/S and the institutional research group SINTEF (Society for Industrial and Technical Research) have entered into a general agreement on a 3-year Arctic research program (ESARK). The estimated cost of the program is 12 million kroner for 1986-87. All research will be related to future oil activity in the Barents Sea with its possible dangers and limitations.

"Structural deicing, floating icebergs and long distances from land are just some of the problems involved in such a program," said SINTEF project leader Tore S. Jorgensen. The ESARK agreement was presented at a press conference in Longyeartown last Wednesday.

Esso has stipulated that some of the findings obtained by SINTEF remain confidential for 2 years.

Ice Maps

"This does not apply to findings already collected by the Norwegian Polar Institute and various universities," said Esso Norge A/S research and development leader Oystein Mundheim. The Norwegian Polar Institute will provide an important contribution in developing an ice map data bank. "Arctic ice has been recorded and researched for a long time. Before we go into these waters with a drilling rig, we must be able to predict ice movements and develop warning systems," said Mundheim.

"Developing oil rigs and installations that can operate in waters surrounded by polar darkness 6 months out of the year and temperatures of down to -30 degrees Celsius is another research project SINTEF has agreed to." And Johannes Moe, administrative director of the SINTEF group, said that an ice laboratory and an icing tunnel will be constructed in Trondheim to accommodate research of this nature. A pollution research project under the

direction of SINTEF in NY Alesund since 1976 will also be continued. Data from this project, together with new data, will be part of the environmental research portion of the ESARK agreement which will be completed later. All possible climatic conditions will be simulated in the ice laboratory and the icing tunnel in Trondheim.

"We need to ascertain how various materials and different structures are affected by both sea and air temperatures. How the winds blow and how deicing can be prevented is another project," said Jorgensen.

Data From Barents Sea

Collecting and processing meteorological and oceanographical data from the area in question in the Barents Sea was already started in 1986. The same applies to geotectonic and seismic data. Laboratories are being equipped and plans are under way for the icing tunnel, which will include freezing equipment to be used in connection with ocean spray research.

At the press conference, representatives from both SINTEF and Esso Norge pointed out how important it is for Norway to acquire the necessary competency to become competitive in oil developments in the North.

"We want to get an early start and be proficient," said Moe.

Esso Norge Director Gilje, however, did not want to predict when Esso might have its first oil rig as far north as Bjornoya. "Round 11 in the assignment of blocks north of Tromsøflaket in the south Barents Sea is now under way; round 13 is expected to extend as far north as 74 degrees 30 minutes. How soon this will be, however, largely depends on oil prices," Gilje pointed out.

Oil Activity

The question of oil activity north of 74 degrees, in the so-called Svalbard box, was also touched upon in Longyear town. Fridtjof Nansen Institute Director Willy Ostreng pointed out that the issue of a protected Norwegian fishing zone around Svalbard had not yet been recognized internationally.

According to the Svalbard Treaty, however, all 43 treaty nations have the right to engage in industrial activity on the islands and their territorial waters. The treaty does not say anything about oil recovery on the continental shelf surrounding Svalbard.

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MINISTER AFTER SVALBARD VISIT: SOVIETS CAUSING GREAT DAMAGE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Torill Nordeng: "Ronbeck Dismayed With Soviets"]

[Text] Environmental management, protection of old cultural monuments and the mining community are matters of great concern to Minister of Environmental Affairs Sissel Ronbeck following an inspection tour of the islands recently.

"I saw and had confirmation of the need for strict regulations and was dismayed to see how the Soviets have damaged the environment in Colesdalen," she said.

The many and deep ruts created by heavy vehicles in Colesdalen on West Spitsbergen will never disappear due to the permanent frost. All of this is vandalism, in the opinion of the cabinet minister. Lately, the Soviets have been mining coal reserves in Colesdalen, between Barentsburg and Longyeartown. "This work has greatly exceeded the limits allowed by environmental protection authorities," she said.

Reindeer Grazing Land Destroyed

"I learned, for example, that Colesdalen is one of the most fertile areas on Svalbard if you can use the term fertile to describe an ice desert where few things can grow. It is clear that the reindeer grazing land has been destroyed," she said.

The ruts created by heavy vehicles used in this area are 50 cm deep in many places. Small rivers will eventually form in these ruts, which will further erode the soil.

Among Minister Ronbeck's initiatives will be to tighten the requirement to report new business ventures on Svalbard. "One year from the date of reporting a new business venture, it may be started up, barring reaction on the part of the authorities.

"From now on, environmental authorities will tighten regulations and closely follow up to see that they are being observed," she said.

She pointed out that all will be subject to equally strict regulations, those who mine coal as well as all the oil companies in search of oil and gas. "The search for oil on Svalbard has also adversely affected the environment there," she said.

The preservation of old homes is another area in which Ronbeck feels stricter regulations must be applied. According to present regulations, all buildings constructed prior to 1900 are automatically preserved. "The question is whether dwellings constructed after 1900 should also be preserved and protected to a much greater degree than they now are," she said.

Buildings Burned

Ronbeck regretted that Store Norske Spitsbergen Kulkompani A/S (SNSK) had burned down old buildings located in Sverdruptown in Longyeardalen. SNSK Administrative Director Ingvald Ohm told AFTENPOSTEN that the buildings were burned during a real fire drill because they were in such poor condition and were not worth preserving. "Houses exactly like these, however, have been preserved elsewhere in Longyeartown," she said.

Although government employees on Svalbard are working on an annual contract basis and cannot stay there more than 4 years at a time, Ronbeck was of the opinion they should still feel at home there.

"We could provide this feeling by preserving the old mining and fishing environment," she said.

"With respect to future oil activity on Svalbard, I have no intense desire to find oil there. I believe this would cause conflicts between industry and environmental protection authorities," she said.

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